HE COMING INTERNATIONAL ORDER—*by T. V. Soong*

FREE WORLD

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A Free World of Prisons
BY SIR NORMAN ANGELL

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR FREEDOM
by Congressman Jerry Voorhis

BULWARK OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS
by Robert Watt

TRIAL OF AXIS WAR CRIMINALS
by Sheldon Glueck

FREE ITALIAN MOVEMENT
by Count Carlo Sforza

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MESSAGES

EZEQUIEL PADILLA JAN CIECHANOWSKI
ALBERTO GUANI HECTOR A. GERONA
ISIDRO FABELA

NOVEMBER, 1942
40c PER ISSUE
CANADA, 50c

?WHY?

American Free World Association

¶ At the end of the first World War, the United States withdrew from the community of nations and left to others the job of cleaning up "the dirty mess" of politics which is the aftermath of war. The results of that action may be counted in millions of dead, in the destruction of cities and countries, in the threat to all the values that constitute our civilization. ¶ *Will this be the result of the second World War?* ¶ The peoples of the whole world are waiting to hear the answer of America. They want to know that the American people are determined to win the peace as well as the war, are pledged to participate in the creation of a free world. ¶ Every day, the International Free World Association hears from the occupied countries of Europe, from the Far East, and from Latin America that the democratic forces everywhere are eagerly awaiting the proof that the people of the United States are mobilized and ready to support the establishment of a democratic world organization.

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1. To preserve democracy on the home front and in world affairs.

2. To urge the prosecution by our Government of active political warfare on a world-wide basis, utilizing the democratic forces of all nationalities represented in this country and all over the world.

3. To work for the creation of a Supreme Council of the United Nations dealing with political and economic matters. An essential function of this Council must be to formulate a clear-cut plan for post-war reconstruction and a democratic world order.

4. To urge the adoption by our Government of a consistent, vigorous anti-fascist foreign policy. We must put an end to the follies of appeasement which strengthen the forces of reaction and play directly into the hands of the enemy.

5. To insist on the abolition of the discriminatory attitude toward the peoples of Asia. By adopting a policy of equal treatment of the peoples of the Far East, we shall deprive our enemies of one of their most powerful weapons; we shall influence India to take her place in the universal struggle for freedom; and we shall win the active co-operation of vast masses of men in the cause of the United Nations.

FREE WORLD

A Monthly Magazine

devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

VOLUME IV, NO. 2 **NOVEMBER, 1942**

Younger Brothers . . . . . *Robert P. Tristram Coffin* 100
Editorial 101
Messages 104
The Coming International Order . . . . . *T. V. Soong* 108
A Free World of Prisons . . . . . *Norman Angell* 111
An Economic Program for Freedom . . . . . *Jerry Voorhis* 117
The Dangerous Patter of Peace . . . . . *Lyman Bryson* 122
Bulwark for the Four Freedoms . . . . . *Robert J. Watt* 125
Making the World Ready . . . . . *Li Yu Ying* 127
The International Significance of the Free Italian Movement *Carlo Sforza* 129
Aesop for Our Time . . . . . *Cornelia Cresson* 133
Spanish Women in Prison . . . . . *Ernest Scheuer* 134
Trial and Punishment of the Axis War Criminals . *Sheldon Glueck* 138
The Negro Knows Fascism . . . . . *Mercer Cook* 147
An Inter-American Democratic Front . *V. R. Haya de la Torre* 150
Progress in the Sciences . . . . . *Watson Davis* 153
A French Trial in 1941 . . . . . *Pierre Mendès France* 157
The Era of Transition . . . . . *Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer* 165
Drawing . . . . . *Tom* 170
The Economics of Collective Security . . . . *Michael Heilperin* 171
Plans for the Future 175
Underground Reporter 179
Books 184

Drawings by Askold, Cornelia Cresson, B. F. Dolbin, L. M., Tom

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YOUNGER BROTHERS

Swietlik, Katz, Eligian,
Salinas, Bonk, Skachinske,
Tardif, Wong, DiLaggio,
Koucoules, Levinski!

You are the younger brothers to
Smyth, Prinz, McNutt, O'Leary,
Despeaux, Higgenbotham, Hughes,
Schuyler, Bausch, MacVittie.

You have the same strong house to build
Against war-lords and weather,
And you must go in shirt-sleeves, too,
And sweat and heave together.

My English ancestor had to learn
To smile and get along
With his Huguenot son-in-law,
His grandsons turned out strong.

My grandma had a son half Dutch
When she was brought to bed,
And he brought thrift into his house
When he and Scotland wed.

And now the Mediterranean
Will mate with Russian plains,
Armenia and Ireland
Gather the prairies' grains.

New sons of our bright new dream,
Off with coat and vest!
Prove that common working men
Are equal to the best.

Prove that all men have the right
To hope and get ahead,
Brother Greek and Sister Pole—
Here is your wedding bed!

Robert P. Tristram Coffin

EDITORIAL

ONE can judge how closely the people throughout the world are attached to the United Nations idea by their extreme sensitivity whenever the slightest differences occur within the framework of the United Nations. It would be normal to expect that the people in democratic countries, accustomed to having the leading members of their administrations or their legislatures disagree among themselves and used to violent political campaigns, would be better prepared psychologically for disagreement. Why, then, do they become so disturbed at the signs of differences among the United Nations which, after all, have existed as an institution for less than one year? The answer, which also furnishes one of the reasons for that sensitivity, is that the public regards the existence of the United Nations as the most precious asset which has been acquired by the democratic nations during this war.

The creation of the United Nations presents to the people in the fighting as well as in the occupied countries decisive proof that the anti-Axis forces have abandoned the traditional policy of war alliances and have inaugurated a new type of international organization superior to anything that has ever been created before. It represents to a war-weary world not merely a political achievement but a solution for the problems that have plagued mankind for ages.

That is why popular opinion in every country welcomed the assumption of broad powers by the United Nations with almost no concern for the concessions of national sovereignty. That is why the people of every nation were ready to yield to the United Nations the power to make decisions regarding resources of men and materials, regarding war strategy and plans for the future. In fact, the creation of a council and the beginnings of the future world organization were actually expected by public opinion to follow quickly upon the historic New Year's announcement of the formation of the United Nations. What has followed since then is considered as too little and too slow.

Three major problems have risen in the last few months and have created great anxiety in the public mind. Foremost among them is the question of the second front—really a political problem, whether one likes it or not. We are all aware that the only front is not in Russia; there are fronts in Egypt, in the Pacific, and in England, the last of which, is after all, of decisive importance in the ultimate outcome of the war. But the impatience of the people, despite all official statements regarding the necessity of waiting until the military leaders have gathered what they consider the necessary strength for attack, is due to the fact that the generals of the Democracies have made mistakes in the first phase of this war. To be sure, the commanders of the Russian, American, and English armies have shown such marked superiority to and so much greater determination than most of the Polish, French, Belgian, and Dutch generals who conducted the early campaigns that no one doubts their ability to wage victorious war. But the fact remains that, in the eyes of the public, the strategic questions are, rightly or wrongly, considered to be largely dependent on the political aspects of this

global war. The answer that the United Nations are not in a position to launch a second front immediately would be acceptable only if such a decision were ratified by a supreme council of the United Nations. In the face of such approval, Stalin's letter would not have been written, or if written, would have created less anxiety.

Similarly, in the problem of India, public opinion is less concerned with the question whether India ought to be given freedom immediately or later than with the absence of a representative body of the United Nations to which—rather than to England alone—the decision ought to belong.

Finally, the people expect from the United Nations definite measures leading toward a solution of the third problem, the future organization of the world. They demand this answer because they are painfully aware of all the questions and difficulties which are awaiting settlement in every country on the face of the globe. They understand that this world order cannot be presented as a mechanical blueprint to be imposed upon all nations without taking into account the aspirations of those who have heroically fought against nazi fascism. But it seems indispensable at this time to lay down at least the essential principles of a world organization. Many of these exist already. They have been written into the Atlantic Charter; they are contained in the statement of the Four Freedoms by President Roosevelt.

But what is needed is more than this. If the pre-war world had not been in a state of constant crisis, if political democracy had shown itself capable of solving domestic economic problems and the universal problem of collective security, if the League of Nations had functioned effectively, then the people would be satisfied with merely a decisive military victory over the Axis Powers. But since this is not the case, they demand a victory which will include plans for a more perfect world. They want to be certain that the democratic regimes on all continents will no longer be endangered by reactionary forces and that the threat of aggression by maniacal dictators will not again arrest or destroy the normal processes of the democratic way of life. A world sickened by the lack of international co-operation, by the greed of economic nationalism and monopolistic capitalism, by the conflicts arising from low wages and unemployment demands a solution to all these problems.

These problems can be solved. They can be solved by beginning now to make the United Nations a political and economic as well as a military reality, by laying now the foundations for the structure of an international organization which can be at least partially ready to function after the end of the hostilities. After all, the United Nations have already embarked in the midst of war—through the Lend-Lease and other economic agreements—upon a great program which is functioning at present as an instrument of war but which is also capable of becoming a great instrument of peace and reconstruction.

They have made a similar beginning in the political sphere. The renunciation by the United States and by England of their rights of extra-territoriality in China is one of those great achievements born of the free will of the interested nations which we hope will be applied to all the problems of world imperialism. This act has convinced the fighting people of China more than any gesture which the United States and England could possibly have made of the determination of their allies to inaugurate a new policy in international relations. The gratitude which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-

shek, T. V. Soong, and Ambassador Wei Tao Ming have expressed for this act breathed their appreciation of the new spirit which prompted it. Formerly, China would have had to wage a costly war with England and the United States in order to obtain the renunciation of these extra-territorial rights. Thousands or millions of men would have died; countries would have undergone years of suffering; but now, a single declaration achieves what might not have been accomplished by years of warfare.

The United States has recently taken another step which shows that a new policy is in the making. It has removed the classification of enemy aliens from the Italians resident in this country. The classical formula of considering every citizen of an enemy country as an enemy alien, which we have constantly criticized in this magazine, was abandoned in favor of an enlightened policy which discriminates between the people of Italy and the ruthless fascist clique, as well as its agents in this country, which is responsible for the war.

If the United Nations continue to follow these two great examples, then the remnants of distrust and of old resentments will disappear very quickly, then the nazi lies about Anglo-American imperialism, about plutocracy, will fall even more flat than they do at present. The United Nations have in their power the means of depriving the Axis propagandists of every political argument by which they still influence masses of men. They have the power to convince once and for all the occupied and fighting countries of Europe and Asia and America and the neutral nations of Latin America that this is a different kind of war; that this time the democratic forces have made their choice between reaction and progress, in favor of the latter. They have the means of creating all over the world the revolutionary enthusiasm to which Dr. T. V. Soong refers elsewhere in this issue—this revolutionary enthusiasm which alone is capable of rapidly changing the balance of power between the Axis and the United Nations, which alone is capable of giving the fullest meaning to the arms which the United States and England are producing in such immense quantities, which is capable of convincing the soldiers of Stalingrad of the necessity of waiting, if waiting there must be (but not an hour longer than necessary).

In the political sphere, two anniversaries are approaching which could both be used to demonstrate the better world which the United Nations are preparing. The second of November marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration which promised the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. That date should be chosen to reaffirm solemnly this promise, to make it more precise, and to do this on behalf of all United Nations. This act will redress a great wrong and it will serve as an inspiration and a hope for the Jews who were the first and are still the most persecuted victims of Hitler.

The eleventh of November is the anniversary of the Armistice of the first World War. This occasion, which in the past has served for the rededication of the Allied nations to the principles of peace, should be used to present to the peoples of the United Nations and of the Axis countries a definite and positive plan of the kind of world for which we are fighting, a plan which outlines the new world organization, which enunciates the principles of economic and political democracy, and which offers to all a vision of collective security—a plan that will prove to the world that the next Armistice will be better than the last.

MESSAGES

SECRETARIO
DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES
MEXICO

ON the occasion of your first anniversary, it is particularly gratifying to me to send you, the Editors and contributors of FREE WORLD, my greetings and enthusiastic congratulations. In this struggle of the United Nations for the freedom of the world, a place of primary importance, alongside the soldiers and strategists, is held by those whose duty it is to keep most intensely alive those moral forces which are consummated in an unbreakable decision to carry on to victory. This is the peculiar responsibility of the spirit, its supreme responsibility at all times, both in peace and in war. To abandon it in a situation like the present one, in which the destiny of mankind is at stake, would constitute the most abominable of betrayals. All those who, in one form or another, have enjoyed the privilege of participating in the benefits of culture, have the sternest obligation to serve as indefatigable spokesmen of the lofty human values involved in the present struggle.

The Editors of FREE WORLD have responded magnificently to this obligation. They have assembled in our countries the most famous writers of the continent and have integrated in a vigorous body of thought the best of their ideas. Their intellectual activity has opened new and wide roads which lead to the world of tomorrow. In this crisis in which mankind is fighting, they have been able to discern with perspicacity and to set forth with integrity those irrenunciable rights of mankind whose defense is the most sacred of imperatives and the justification of supreme sacrifices. The very name of the publication is a symbol, an emblem of its highest ideals, which are ours as well, for they signify the birth—through blood and iron, if necessary—of a free world. A world in which all men can live free from terror and coercion, a world in which the methods of rational persuasion and of peaceful intelligence will be substituted for the arbitrary rule, violence, and cruelty which have been erected today into a system of government over the peoples subject to totalitarian despotism.

In expressing these sentiments of admiration which your distinguished magazine has deserved, my greatest wish would be to stimulate its Editors to persevere in their praiseworthy activity and to see their splendid attitude imitated by as many people as possible. This consecration of the methods of intelligence to the cause of liberty and to its indispensable political form, democracy, is, I believe, one of the most certain presages of the future prosperity of our America.

EZEQUIEL PADILLA
Minister of Foreign Affairs

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY
FREEDOM: SPIRIT OF AMERICA

To my friends of FREE WORLD magazine on the occasion of the first anniversary of publication.

THE States that constitute the American Continent have never intended to impose their own political ideas on other States. But neither are they ready to admit their penetration by ideologies that would conduct them to servitude. They must, then, defend themselves by attacking the disease in its very origin.

The development of the spiritual and material union between the American Republics, that was brought about by the different treaties and agreements signed during the last few years, is the reaffirmation of the basic ideals and essential vocation of these countries: Freedom.

America repudiates aggression. In the field of public law consecrated by her, it has been definitely written that conquest does not give rights. Instead, her conscience and dignity have imposed upon her the duty of facing the attacks upon law and freedom, rising united and strong to fight the acts of aggression inspired by the Axis countries against the nations of this hemisphere.

ALBERTO GUANI
Minister of Foreign Affairs

AMBASADA RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ W WASZYNGTONIE

I WISH to convey to the Editors of the FREE WORLD magazine my best congratulations for the splendid work done for our common cause.

As conceived and carried out by Hitlerite Germany and the other Axis Powers, her satellites, the ruthless science of total warfare aiming at the barbaric extermination of entire races and nations, with all its sadistic cruelty and terrorism, its godlessness and bestiality, is the sinister result of twenty years of methodical planning and minute preparation of the most modernized concept of wholesale slaughter and destruction on a scale hitherto never recorded in the chronicles of mankind.

The United Nations now fighting this total war in defense of their own independence and of human freedom are forced to pursue the war to complete victory, there being no other alternative if aggressive warfare is to be eliminated from international relations and the world made definitely secure and safe for the four essential freedoms which humanity is entitled to enjoy. There is no other alternative to victory, because the robots of militarism who have launched this total

aggression, worship war and despise individual freedom and the rights of man.

There is no other alternative to victory, because experience has shown that it is futile to expect nations, whose acts are governed by unchristian self-worship and an absurd faith in their racial superiority over all other races, to pursue peaceful collaboration with other nations on terms of equality.

There is no other alternative to victory, because experience has proved that no policy of appeasement by concession can be successfully applied to aggressor nations who have been in the past and, if allowed to remain armed, will always be, a living menace to the freedom of others.

There is no other alternative to victory, because the first preliminary round of this world conflict took place already twenty-eight years ago in August, 1914.

We did win that first round in 1918. But we won it only on points. We did not pursue it to a knockout. And later we allowed the same enemy No. 1 of human freedom gradually and openly to rebuild his war machine and once more to challenge the world.

Victory will bring an end to actual fighting. But it will likewise leave us face to face with a world in rags, a world of unprecedented suffering and destitution—a world of depleted populations tortured by poverty, famine, and disease, but overcrowded by all the most primitive and all the most intricate human problems.

We might be forgiven for losing the actual armed conflict, if the forces of barbarism now facing us proved overpowering. But we could not be forgiven if, after achieving victory, we, the United Nations, were to shirk our greatest duty jointly to face and to solve the problems of peace on new, bold lines of security, justice, and prosperity.

JAN CIECHANOWSKI,
Ambassador of Poland

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

THROUGH the medium of FREE WORLD, whose first anniversary we are so joyfully celebrating at a time when totalitarianism is seeking to impose its absolute interpretation of the universal future by the materialistic realism of its might, our message from Uruguay to all our brothers of this Continent is founded, not upon one certain fact, but upon an immortal affirmation: America is history; but more than history, America is prophecy; America is the future!

According to this concept, the most singular of those which created the social and political forms of such complex origin and of so fragile a life in the world, America is the legendary Atlantis, today, precisely in this tragedy of civilization, in this dark hour of humanity, the sanctuary of justice and wisdom, from which the veil has been torn

aside in order that what is hidden within may show itself to the light.

For America was born, as none other, of a direct and pristine victory of the spirit of liberty over the power of tyranny. It became incarnate in the passionate revolution of the Rights of Man, of which it was both the inspiration and the fertile realization. Its history has, therefore, a virginal depth, pure and wonderful, which not only grants it triumph over the soil of its continent, but makes it the great victor over time.

Popular experience with liberty and the international organization of sovereignty established democratic government with a spontaneity never before seen in historical fact, though felt in prophecy—established it without any really critical pauses and without substantial obstacles, so that America represents not only political unity, but much more than that, a community of the spirit. We Americans are not only effort; we are faith.

From Uruguay our message to all our Continental brothers is founded upon the prophetic imperative of our sovereign origin, on the dictates of brotherhood of the blood and of the spirit, and of the whole struggle, past, present, and future, for the democratic existence of our peoples.

The helm of culture and civilization has fallen with a crash from the hands of a Europe grown old and sick with hate and vengeance, to be seized and held in the firm grasp of America—of the new race, the strong race.

America constitutes at this moment the spiritual reservoir of the world, the last refuge of human hope.

That is why it is prophecy; that is why it is the future!

HECTOR A. GERONA

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, TOLUCA, MEXICO

ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF *FREE WORLD,* MUNDO LIBRE TAKES GREAT PLEASURE IN SENDING FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO THIS GREAT LEADER IN THE FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF ALL MEN AND ALL PEOPLES. MUNDO LIBRE, LAUNCHED IN MEXICO THROUGH THE INITIATIVE OF *FREE WORLD,* IS VERY PROUD TO SEE THE GREAT SUCCESS ACHIEVED BY THE MAGAZINE IN WHOSE PAGES THE MOST EMINENT WRITERS OF THE WORLD HAVE APPEARED. THE EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS OF MUNDO LIBRE, FRATERNALLY EXTENDING THEIR HANDS TO THEIR NEW YORK COMRADES IN THE FIGHT, SOLEMNLY URGE THEM TO CONTINUE WITH THE SAME ENTHUSIASM WHICH THEY HAVE SHOWN THUS FAR, THEIR UNIQUE CRUSADE FOR THE DEFENSE OF AMERICA AND FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM OF ALL NATIONS IN THE WORLD.

ISIDRO FABELA

The Coming International Order

by

T. V. SOONG

IN presenting the full text of the brilliant speech delivered by T. V. Soong, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Republic, the Editors of FREE WORLD believe that they are offering a historic document, as significant as the address made by Vice-President Wallace at the FREE WORLD dinner on May 8. Mr. Soong spoke at the United China Relief rally in Carnegie Hall on the celebration of the thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese Republic, and his words have special meaning as the expression of the greatest democratic force in the Far East. Mr. Soong himself has been for many years President of the Chinese Anti-Aggression Movement, which has now become the Chinese Free World Association. Thus his promise that the organization of the United Nations into a strategical political and military unit will evoke the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of Asia carries particular weight, and his insistence on the urgency of beginning to establish the democratic world order right now reflects the sentiment of enlightened statesmanship as well as of popular opinion.

THIS is the day China cherishes as the Double Tenth—the tenth day of the tenth month, October. It is the day of our Declaration of Independence, the day when Sun Yat-Sen proclaimed the Republic of China, the beginning of the People's Century in Asia—our Fourth of July.

But October 10 is a Fourth of July only 31 years old! It represents the daring not of our remote ancestors, but of our own fathers—and of many men now living. The men who today are the leaders of the state and heads of families in China are the very young men who on that day of October 10 pledged to Dr. Sun himself their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

These years in China are what the era of the Founding Fathers were to Americans. The torch of democratic idealism and the revolutionary faith of the Chinese Founding Fathers was thrown to them from the Fathers of your own Fourth of July. Dr. Sun was American-educated and took his inspiration from the early American patriots who also were not afraid to create new worlds.

No Chinese patriot, however blinded by his devotion, will claim that China has fully realized her own democratic faith. In 1911, there was in China hardly any preparation for representative government and, except for the few leaders, scarcely anyone had the slightest notion of how a democracy operates. As Dr. Sun used to say, mortals and their institutions do not spring to life in full maturity. They must

grow from humble beginnings. They will learn only by their mistakes, until in the process of trial and error, humanity advances.

We had to try to develop in a few years from a medieval empire to a modern democracy against incessant intrigue and finally military attack of a Japan who wanted no democracy in Asia. But for all our mistakes and difficulties our democracy made us a unified nation. For five years a united China has kept fighting—fighting in a way military men of magnificently equipped armies do not always understand—fighting in the irregular way in which revolutionary armies without equipment have always had to fight—fighting in exactly the same way as George Washington's armies had to fight, retreating, retreating, and retreating, past this very spot, from the defeat of the battle of Long Island to the victory of the battle of Trenton—fighting with wits against Japanese mechanized forces asking everything that even your Marines can give.

When the United Kingdom and the United States became at war with Japan, we thought the end of our fighting was near. But today the Japanese are stronger than ever in the Far East; and our supply base in Burma is gone.

Ambassador Grew has had to live with the Japanese during these critical war years. No one tells better than he what fanatically determined fighters and implacable foes they are, and how dangerously strong and menacing to you as well as to us.

Why do the Chinese keep fighting a foe as strong as that—despite democratic reverses? Because they have a revolutionary faith in themselves? Yes. But also because they have a revolutionary faith in you, the democracy you Americans stand for, and your courage to build new worlds. Because they are sure that the kind of a world that the American Revolution and the Chinese Revolution can together create will be a world in which Chinese children can live as well as American children.

What do they ask in return for that faith in you?

If I could sum it up in a sentence I would say that what they want in return is a revolutionary faith on your part—revolutionary faith in yourselves and in the possibilities of democracy and your democratic allies—faith enough to let yourselves and the other principal United Nations start now, realistically, to build the kind of democratic world that can stay democratic after this conflict is over. They want to see action begun now to realize the resolve of your great President, which is also the resolve of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, about the United Nations and democracy and the Four Freedoms—for Asia as well as for Europe and the Americas.

II

IN announcing on this auspicious day that the United States Government is prepared promptly to negotiate a treaty for the immediate relinquishment of extra-territorial rights in China, and for the settlement of related questions, thereby giving recognition to China's new status, the President has again evinced his deep understanding of the political sentiments of an aroused Asia.

There is no question for the Chinese as to China's future. To beat off the Japanese we have fought and endured for five years; it may well take us another five years, but the common people of China as well as their leaders do not even think of defeat. We know that any people with resources and man power can —at a price to their civilization—become militarily strong. We remember that we, like other nations, have at times been the world's best

soldiers, best manufacturers, best inventors, and that we are going through a national renaissance as well as a war.

But we do not want military power; after victory we want lasting peace. Because this new China has suffered more from aggression than perhaps any other nation still free, because it does feel its own potential strength, because as the newest convert to democracy the democratic dream is strong within us—we want to do something now so that the society of the future will not have to be an armed camp.

From this stems the natural desire of China to see set up, as quickly as possible, an Executive Council of the United Nations, and to help to evolve therefrom a workable world order, an international instrument fully capable of dispensing justice and enforcing law and order among nations during, as well as after, the war. We know from bitter experience that no forward planning—post-war or otherwise—is worth the effort unless a realistic machinery for collective security—for freedom from fear—can be developed and be actually working before this war ends and while the pressures of war make it possible for such co-operation to catch hold.

The ghost of the League of Nations does not daunt us Chinese. We have thought perhaps the most about its failure because we were the first and the most grievous victim of that failure. It was on the rock of the Manchurian incident—at which time I was charged by my Government with the direction of our foreign policy—that the League foundered, and this war began—for you as well as for us. But we know that the League failed for a very concrete reason—because the two great powers which controlled it and could prevent action by it did not believe it was necessary for their own security.

That is not the situation today. Today those powers which did not feel the League useful to safeguard their own security, and you who felt it even less necessary for your own security, have to recognize that international order and collective security have become essential for the survival of strong states as well as the preservation of weaker ones. Today an aggressor left alone in his preparations can get a death jump on a strong state as well as a weak one.

A second difference from the League is that this time we can form our international society while we are still fighting the war. Undoubtedly much of the trouble with the League was that it was formed after and not during the first World War, when the Allied Nations no longer had to find answers to the thousand and one reasons why men do not want to co-operate. Men learn to co-operate only by having to do it and the only time when they will practice at it is when they doubt whether they can survive if they don't.

The new world order, like the Chinese Republic, and like all human institutions, will never be realized until we start it. And we shall never be more ready for starting it than now. Under the impact of the terror, the sacrifices, and the suffering we are going through, we are seeing more clearly than ever before, and perhaps more clearly than we ever shall again, the crying necessity for a new world order. If we cannot compose our differences now with all that we hold dear at stake, what chances are there later when exhaustion, mutual recriminations, and cynicism at the end of the war paralyzes common action.

We cannot oppose to the onward surge of the Nazis and the Japanese a mere negative attitude, the vindication of the Nine-Power Pact, the defense of the *status quo* of the British Empire, or the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union and of the United States. We must give to our young men, who are called on to sacrifice, a flaming mission of a new world order, and we must begin to make that mission come true now. Against a fanatic faith in supermen, we must oppose a revolutionary enthusiasm for common men.

We are in the midst of a war more terrible, more all-embracing than the last, and to the millions of the Chinese and Russian dead will be added millions of American and British dead before we are through. Are these to die in vain? After victory will we have nothing better to offer our peoples than universal exhaustion to be followed in a few years by still another war? Or shall we not begin at once, here and now, to make what will prove to be the great advance in human history, the emergence of a world order?

China has known the depth of suffering; she means not only to win, but to keep her arms bright after the war. Through Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek she pledges those arms to her comrades of this war to be used, not in furtherance of nationalistic ambitions, but to help uphold the new world of justice and freedom.

A FREE WORLD of PRISONS

by

Norman Angell

THIS is a hush-hush subject. It is not mentioned in really nice circles either of the Right or of the Left. So I am more than glad that the Editor of the FREE WORLD is raising it in his pages. This magazine, and the organization for which it speaks, stand for a world—world, please note, not this or that particular nation—in which men shall be free economically as well as politically, shall have equality of economic opportunity; a world in which the fruits of the earth—and indeed the earth itself—shall not be reserved for a privileged few who happened to have gained possession thereof, and use force and power to retain their status, but shall be available to those ready to do their share of labor; a world in fact to which all the peoples of the earth shall have access.

There has been abundant rhetoric in the past in the expression of this right of the people to the fruits of the earth. Unnumbered idealists, reformers, Socialists—Leftists particularly—have for years made themselves the spokesmen (usually by fierce indictments of capitalists and imperialists) of those excluded from their share of the earth's abundance.

Now a few years ago, there arose a set of circumstances which placed hundreds of thousands of the noblest of mankind in dire peril, not merely of poverty, of gross and evil oppression, but of appalling physical tortures and death. I refer, of course, to the fate of the refugees from nazi oppression and the behavior of the Democracies in respect to that problem in the four or five years or so which preceded the outbreak of the present war—a tragic story which seems now to have passed all but completely from public memory. I recall it because if the ideas which even sections of the Left at times supported in those years prevail at the making of the peace, that tragedy of the pre-war years will be repeated, and we shall not get a free world; or anything resembling it. Furthermore, until we face aspects of this problem which coming events are certain to render extremely vital, the Democracies will be unable to wage an effective political war. And it may well prove that without effective political war, the war of guns and planes cannot succeed.

In particular should one especial aspect of this immigration problem (for it will resolve itself into an immigration problem, a problem of freer migration) be noted. At the close of the war hundreds of thousands—indeed many millions—of men and women will have been removed from their homes, taken like cattle from one side of Europe to the other. Their original homes are today in many cases blasted ruins, the scenes of tortures and tragedies that these suffering people will want above all to forget. Economically, it would often be extremely difficult for them to return; the conditions which gave them a living in their old homes would be entirely changed: the factory where the mechanic worked might be gone; the clients who had made for the young lawyer a legal practice, might be dead; the district where the shop had been prosperous so altered that no such shop could survive; and so on. Less still will many want to remain where they had been dumped by the nazi slave trader. They—or very many thousands of them—will want to start life afresh, preferably in one of the "new" countries. They will want to do what so many former generations of young Europeans have done—go out to a young and expanding country in order to forget and get

away from the tragedies of the old, of the past. They will look with longing to the United States and Canada, to the empty spaces of Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya; to the Argentine and other South American countries. They will most certainly ask whether, in the brave free world for which they believed themselves to be fighting, they will be allowed, as their forefathers would have been allowed in the world of yesterday, to help fill the empty spaces of the earth and to help by their labor render those spaces fertile.

What will the Democracies of the new countries answer to that plea?

Unless we—particularly we of the English-speaking Democracies—make it plain that we have parted with the ideas that dictated our conduct a few years ago, those victims of the Nazis will not have much hope.

II

RECALL for a moment the circumstances of those who desired to flee, to find sanctuary in the early years of the nazi oppression. After the last war, in 1918, we said to the people of Germany and Austria: "Cast away the old anti-democratic ideas and make your new republics real democracies." A proportion took our advice, stood out for "Western" ideas, and, as a result, when the Hitlerite terror came, were its first victims. Immediately it became evident in the new world that these victims might seek refuge by emigration, the restrictions against the entry of the refugee began practically everywhere to be increased. There was great and generous private charity to help these poor wretches, but official policy made it impossible to cover more than a fraction of the need, which, indeed, was on a scale too great for private charity to cover, even if it had been allowed to do so. Every day almost brought us dreadful stories of those who had managed to escape being sent back to the torture chambers of the Nazis because their papers were not in order; men and women were tied into airplanes in order that they should not throw themselves out. Leaky vessels filled with children and their mothers who had fled from Germany were turned back. In one case, nine hundred refugees who had managed somehow to charter a ship set to sea in the hope of finding some refuge. For weeks, months, their ship wandered over the world—to Cuba, Florida, round the Gulf back across the Atlantic. No refuge anywhere. At long last Britain, Belgium, and Holland offered *temporary* shelter.

The policy followed by most countries at the time of this incident was broadly one of exclusion tempered by the admission of relatively tiny numbers as an act of grace. Tens were admitted where thousands asked for admission as the alternative to penury, famine, imprisonment, or suicide.

The Democracies of the world—Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the republics of South America—could have saved a great proportion of these people by the extremely simple device of opening their national doors, at least as wide as they had been open before World War I. Each could have acted individually. It was not one of those situations in which none could act unless all acted together. It was not imperialism or capitalism which prevented action—indeed capitalists were supposed to have had an interest in opening the doors because, alleged certain sections of the labor movement, the admission of foreigners, would tend to lower wages. The obstacles came mainly from popular feeling, only in part from the pressure of trade unions, or what demagogic politicians and timid officials believed to be popular feeling. The popular feeling was based upon a very erroneous and fallacious economic conception. In any case, the doors were opened only a tiny crack, a few hundreds or a few thousand alone found sanctuary where millions might have done so—to the great economic and military advantage of the countries receiving them. Freedom was not vindicated by those who profess to be the friends of freedom, and many thousands of the early soldiers of our fight for a free world, who might have been saved, perished in a tempest of oppression, in a tempest where lifeboats were available to pick them up.

The policy of exclusion was maintained on the assumption that in the still largely empty countries of the New World Democracies, Democracies facing a decline of population, the admission of a considerable number of immigrants would—it was insisted—be economically disadvantageous, and that particularly would it tend to worsen unemployment difficulties and deprive British or Dominion or American workers of jobs. This attitude was based mainly upon one assumption, namely, that for every

hundred or every thousand aliens admitted to work, a hundred or thousand native Britishers —or Americans or Australians—are deprived of work, or the chances of getting it. Yet all the most competent authorities, all those who have looked carefully into the matter, reject completely, not merely the proposition that considerable addition of population to countries such as the Dominions would be disadvantageous, but reject also the proposition that when, say, a thousand aliens are admitted and find work, a thousand native workers are thrown out of employment or deprived of that many opportunities for work. The conclusion that when an alien is given a job, some native must lose one seems at first sight unanswerable. But it is a complete fallacy.

An American applies for a job in an office and finds a German refugee occupying it. The American argues that he has been done out of work. But suppose the refugee German happens to be there because with his knowledge of foreign markets originally supplied by Germany he is able so to enlarge the firm's business that a hundred extra men are taken on in the factory? To refuse to employ the German might well have meant depriving ninety-nine Americans of work in order that one particular individual might be employed. This is not a fantastic case that never arises. It arises very often. An employer cannot, of course, be absolutely sure beforehand that the employment of this foreign clerk who claims to know the foreign market so well really will be able to extend the firm's export business. But is the firm not to be allowed even to try the experiment of an extension of business that may give a hundred unemployed men jobs?

III

BUT the main case for greater freedom of migration rests on broader grounds. We can perhaps secure a hint of it best by reminding ourselves that when we think of a town adding to its population, we regard it as "common sense" that the addition should make for prosperity, and all that goes with the decline, not the increase, of unemployment.

It was the fate of this author to pass some years in America, and he remembers that in those days every small town had a "Booster Club" whose job it was to try and double the size of the town, because as people came in, prosperity was increased: houses had to be built, school buildings erected, new tramlines projected, new roads and railroads undertaken. All this meant increasing commercial activity. If you had suggested to the citizens of New Paris, that the influx of an additional thousand population was going to be bad for its prosperity, you would have been regarded as an almost certifiable lunatic, and the president of the "Booster Club" would have presented you with a case something like this:

> When an immigrant comes here and brings his wife and children, they have to be fed, clothed, housed, warmed; and the first thing that happens therefore is that the grocer, the clothing store, the builder, and the coal merchant are made busier.
>
> And if you tell me that these thousand immigrants are going to take a thousand jobs from our people, I tell you that you are talking nonsense. For the carpenters that are included among them will get busy on the new school houses that they will want, and the farmers among them will improve land in the neighborhood of our town; their market gardeners will introduce better methods of truck farming, and I understand a company is already started to produce winter vegetables under glass.
>
> No, siree, this new lot of immigrants is going to do us good.

One could hear such speeches repeatedly in those days. It was then regarded as self-evident throughout Western America that the one thing needed for prosperity was an upward trend of population.

Underlying many confusions about unemployment is the idea that there is a fixed quantity of work which needs doing, so that if A takes a job, it is lost to B. But when a man earns money by taking a job he has to spend it, and that spending of it on housing, traffic, newspapers, books, food, drink, fuel, obviously creates work, gives someone else a job. To the degree to which a given thousand men take jobs, they also create jobs. Every individual is a consumer, a purchaser, as well as a possible producer.

If there were only half as many people in America, as there actually are, the demand for bread, for clothes, for boots and shoes, for cinemas and the like, would only be about half what it is; so that although there would be fewer people needing jobs, there would be proportionately fewer jobs to go round. We all make work for one another.

What did actually happen when in fact there took place a vast migration of people from some countries into others?

In the nineties of the last century, the annual exodus from Europe averaged 650,000. It has been estimated that in the peak period of 1906-10, nearly 1,500,000 immigrants entered America each year, of whom nearly 1,000,000 went to the United States and the others mainly to Argentina, Brazil, and Canada. By 1910 the new arrivals in Australia numbered 100,000 each year. The emigrants to Argentina were predominantly Italian and Spanish; and people from the same countries, and from Portugal, flocked to Brazil.

What was the effect of this vast migration upon the receiving countries? Unemployment? Grave economic dislocation?

They were for the most part periods of great economic expansion, when unemployment on the scale reached since—in the period of barriers against migration—was utterly unknown. Were those years before the war, when America received as many as a million new immigrants each year, years of unemployment, or of low wages compared with what ruled in the rest of the world? There was practically no unemployment in those years, and the wages paid at that time of tremendous immigration were the highest paid anywhere in the world.

One of the very greatest of experts, Professor Carr Saunders, declares that "the general effect of increase of population has been favorable, especially when it has been by way of immigration." He points to the experience of the United States as significant. At one time unlimited facilities were given for immigration, and "if immigration is ever on a scale that is larger than is desirable, it would be under such circumstances." An investigation by Dr. Jerome exposed the startling fact that strong cyclical movements in immigration corresponded with cyclical movements of increased employment, and the reverse (with a certain time-lag). "However we explain them, the facts are a remarkable tribute to the system under which men were free to come and go."

Now any theory ought to stand the test of facts. If the theory that admission of foreigners creates unemployment and lowers wages is sound, how do we account for facts like that just mentioned? Yet those conditions of active employment and steadily rising wages, coupled with enormous immigration went on, year after year. When immigration stopped almost completely, then the United States ran into the severest unemployment it had ever known. At one time it had something like fifteen million men without work. The reason for this was not that there were too many people in the United States, but that production and consumption had become generally maladjusted. R. F. Harrod, the Oxford economist, writes: "I submit the proposition that an expansion of numbers is good for employment, and contraction bad." Similar statements by one economist after another could be reproduced.

All this is true without reference to any tendency of a population to fall; but it becomes immensely strengthened by the fact that in all the modern democracies the trend toward a decline of population is very strong indeed. If present trends persist—and those trends, the outcome of social habits and possibly of forces that go beyond habits, have become so deeply rooted that even the omnipresent power of totalitarian states wages war against them in vain—Britain will, within the lifetime of people now living, be reduced to nearly half its present population, "and after that go on declining until it becomes extinct. No increase in the marriage rate, no lowering of the age at marriage, no reduction of the death rate can possibly prevent this," notes T. H. Marshall in a summary of conclusions drawn by four of the most competent living authorities on the subject. "The only things that can stop it are a return to larger families than we have today, or great and continued immigration from abroad. Either or both of these can save this country from ultimate depopulation, but nothing else can. Exaggeration is unnecessary when the truth is so startling."

More than one population expert has expressed the view that if birth and death rate continue as they are, in fifty years the population of Britain, Australia, and certain other countries will be reduced to about sixty-five per cent of its present size. If that, or anything near it, takes place, we do indeed face a series of the deepest economic depressions, with their accompaniment of severe unemployment.

Imagine the economic conditions of a country in which half the houses are uninhabited, traffic receipts cut in half, some railroads actually closing down because there is no more population to be served by them. What will be the effect of that upon the value of real estate property, of railroad shares, and what the fate of employment in the building and railroad in-

dustries? And think of the position of such industries as that of newspaper, publishing, cinemas, with the market cut in half. Whether the expectation of a decline of population so rapid as that just indicated be sound or not, it is quite certain that all the factors which tend to produce depression are set up and stimulated by a declining and contracting population.

Nearly all the indications go to show that far from there being any danger of the Dominions or the United States being "flooded with immigrants," there was in the year or two preceding the present war an actual turn of the tide of immigration in the other direction, flowing from the Dominions to Great Britain and from the United States to Europe. Professor Brinley Thomas notes that not only did the world depression reduce the volume of migration to a mere trickle, it reversed its trend:

> For example, in 1932, eleven European countries of emigration taken together recorded a new *inflow* of 102,000 whereas five overseas countries of immigration (Argentine, Australia, New Zealand, U. S. A., and Uruguay) had a net outward balance of 65,000. This remarkable change in direction has tended to persist up to the last two or three years.

America is not exempt from the general trend. Far from the United States being in danger from "swamping" by immigrants, it was before the war actually on balance losing population by emigration to Europe despite the pressure of the persecutions.

IV

IN this matter, as in so many others, private policy—the conduct of the individual citizen everywhere—has commonly been so much better, so infinitely more generous than the conduct of his nation. At the beginning of this war, children from the war area were offered the freest, most generous hospitality by private citizens. Nothing could have been more generous, more noble. But those qualities did not at all characterize the conduct of governments in adjusting their immigration policies to meet the need of those who, before the war, were suffering under nazi oppression.

When a few months before the present war several countries gave an extra turn to the screw of immigrant exclusion, just because the demand for refuge was becoming greater, the present writer tried to bring home to the public of that day just what these barbed wire entanglements of regulations meant for the refugee flying from terror:

> Recall the constant accounts of refugees, having escaped in some cargo boat, carried shrieking to the ship or plane that will deliver them back to the tender mercies of the Brown Shirts. Consider for a moment the humanity of the law which forbids you to take a refugee baby into your home unless you will give a banker's guarantee to cover the whole cost of its upbringing and education during the whole of its life until it is of age; of the law which forbids the adoption of a refugee child, which makes it illegal, that is. Consider for a moment what it means when a whole shipload of women and children, fleeing from the nazi terror, can wander the ocean for weeks seeking any door anywhere that shall be open to them. And finding all closed. As their ship passed the Statue of Liberty, someone might have told them what is written upon its pedestal.
>
> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.
>
> But the children fleeing from death found it to be a closed door, with the lamp gone out. All the doors, whatever the democratic flag that flew over them, were closed; all the lamps were going out. Though the mothers asked nothing better than to scrub floors or wash dishes for any pittance that would give their babies food, that pittance, that food, that sanctuary again and again we have refused. We fear that the children might prove to be children of the race of Jesus and of Mary; and we urge that the presence of the children of His and Her race might "excite prejudice," make some of us angry. So we turn them, they and their mothers, back to hunger and imprisonment, torture, death. "Inasmuch . . ."
>
> If that is the degree of unity which marks "the forces of freedom throughout this world"; if that the degree of faith we have in the principle that we must stand together against the forces of evil; if we believe the words that we are members one of another with that degree of fervor—then our material power obviously cannot save us. For we have not the moral unity sufficient to use it; it can be overcome by those

who have less power but greater unity. And our democracies would perish.

Perhaps they would deserve to perish.

If there is bitterness in that comment on our attitude, the attitude of Britain, the Dominions, and this country, a comment written a year or so before the present war began when so many who might have worked and fought for us asked the chance of life, it is perhaps because that refusal of life by the Democracies of the Empty Spaces (as those of the newer worlds might be described) was in the circumstances a deeply bitter tragedy.

What is to be our reply when the same sort of plea is made by the uprooted and the homeless after the war?

A warning is perhaps necessary. There is no suggestion that this country or the British Dominions or the Latin American Republics should admit a flood of humanity from Asia with all the problems that that might imply; nor indeed that immigration should be entirely unrestricted, as it was virtually only a few decades since. The need for restriction and regulation is admitted. But regulation implies the power to increase an inflow, as well as decrease it. What is needed in the case of Asia is that racial discrimination should be completely abolished, that racial equality should be recognized, and that regulation be on a basis of voluntary agreement between the nations concerned. There is no reason to suppose that the nations of the Orient, once the principle of racial equality were granted, would not understand the desire of the United States not to add to the internal strains which an influx of Asiatics might occasion. Virtual exclusion of Asiatics by agreement with them may not be an ideal solution, and might leave much from a moral standpoint to be desired. But because the water we drink cannot be chemically pure, is no reason why we should swallow sewage. And because our immigration laws in respect of Asiastics may not be all that the more idealistic among us would desire, that is no reason at all why our conduct in respect of excluding Europeans (whose presence would not set up the same kind of difficulty) should be merciless, cruel, and self-injurious.

V

IT may well be that we shall soon have to give an unequivocal answer to the question coming from underground Europe: "When we who have been in hell for years manage to get out of it, and want to forget it in a new world, will you, because you got there first and closed the doors against us before the war, open them a little to let us in?" We may have to answer that question before the end of the war, and the answer that we give may well have a very great effect upon the peace that we shall ultimately be able to make.

It bears, moreover, upon the political war. Some of us would dearly like to see the United Nations proclaim something like this:

> Any soldier fighting under the German flag—whether he be German or of other nationality—who freely surrenders, whether in land warfare, or by plane landing behind United Nations line, or by submarine or other ship in United Nations ports—will not be repatriated at the end of the war unless he so desires; and he will be afforded means of emigration to territory under one of the flags of the United Nations.

It would not be difficult to make such an offer known, and it is a dead certainty that it would offer enormous attractions to very many in the enemy forces. (It ought not to be necessary—though perhaps it is—to anticipate one objection by reminding the reader that Germans, once detached from their Government and home environment, make some of the most desirable citizens that this country and Canada possess, splendid farmers and admirable workmen.)

This, however, is incidental to the main question here raised. What is going to be our policy in respect to the type of refugee which the circumstances of war may produce, refugees who during the war have fought our fight and need a resting place and sanctuary?

Whenever one asks that question of the Olympians—the diplomats, the politicians, the labor leaders, the trade union officials—the answer is commonly a panic-stricken request for heaven's sake not to raise the question at all. No government, we are told, would dare to suggest any relaxation of the immigration restrictions. It is a most unpopular subject, they tell you, with officials and with Foreign Offices. It would be most unsafe to suggest that the victims of the war will be able to find a future in the New Worlds, because in all probability it will be denied them. So please hush.

But my guess is that when the time comes, the victims won't hush.

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM *for* FREEDOM

By Jerry Voorhis

ONLY two motives can impel men and women to heroic action and give them strength and courage to make such sacrifices as the winning of this total war will require. The first is the will to survive and to enable one's children and the institutions of one's country to live. Perhaps this is the strongest—certainly it is the most fundamental of all human instincts. It steeled the people of London to endure the terrible bombings of September, 1940, when only their enduring stood between Hitler and the conquest of all Europe. It has given the people of Russia the strength to fight the greatest defensive war in all history. It has inspired the mountain fighters of Yugoslavia, the Norwegian seamen, the saboteurs of France. It has enabled the Chinese to hold on through five long years of most cruel war and suffering. If we in the United States are ever to feel the full pressure of this motive, it will be because the rest of the world has fallen under Axis control. And should such a time ever come—which God forbid—our cause would possess scant hope indeed.

But there is another motive which to a high spirited people can be almost as strong as the will to protect the very existence of one's home and the lives of one's family. That is the impulse of a great ideal and a great hope. And if we name over the possessions of mankind, material and spiritual, and consider which of them we would keep if we could keep but one, most of us would choose to cherish hope even though we lost all other things. Moreover, the most profound difference between dictatorship and democracy lies in the fact that the people of a democracy can always hope that by dint of their own effort and devotion their problems can be solved and a new and better world can be built; whereas the people who must live under a dictator dare not either envision or strive for any change or improvement in the *status quo* but must with vehemence declare that they are living in the best of all possible countries under the best of all possible regimes.

And so hope for a truly free world after this war becomes a matter of the greatest importance to the winning of the war itself. And as the hardships of the war become realities to us instead of predictions—above all as we read the names of dear ones in the casualty lists—this hope of the future will become increasingly important. For in every war the people must have the answer to the question, "What for?" And that answer cannot be put merely in negative or defensive terms. It must be dynamic, far more dynamic than any regimented "new order" of any dictator.

These are the reasons for the insistence on the part of many of us that preparation for post-war reconstruction must begin now. They are the reasons therefore why America's aims as to international relations after the war and the building and maintenance of lasting peace are important. Above all, they are the reasons why we must, as a democratic people, be now at work preparing a program which can be democratically carried out and which after the war will, in a phrase, enable the people of America to consume the full volume of production and thus assure to returning soldiers jobs and opportunity. There is nothing except winning the war itself that these soldiers and

sailors care more about than this. They will do their part. All they ask is that the rest of us do ours.

Some of the blunders that followed the last war are vivid memories to many people. It is realized that this time we must build a lasting peace instead of breaking ground for another war. There is a greater determination, which must carry over into the peace, to take steps to prevent ruthless aggression from again raising its ugly head after the conflict has been won. But the more difficult question as to how to accomplish these things has been, on the whole, but little discussed. And most of the discussion that has taken place has been about machinery: "World Government," "Federated States," "Anglo-American Collaboration," "International Air Force," and the like! The deeper questions as to what sort of world order the "World Government" would preside over, the objectives for which "Anglo-American Collaboration" would exist, the sort of economic and political situation an "International Air Force" would seek to perpetuate—these things have not been dealt with sufficiently. And yet they are the very heart of the problem. The League of Nations failed not alone because the United States failed to join but also because the basic principles of lasting peace did not undergird it.

II

THIS article therefore, will be an attempt to deal briefly with some of the things that must be done to lay the groundwork for lasting peace. It will deliberately omit discussion of the superstructure. It will outline the fundamental principles of post-war reconstruction instead of discussing by what means we are going to try to do we know not what.

The first principle must, of course, be the protection of all peoples against future attempts at aggression. If the United States accepts this principle with a whole heart—as we did not do at the close of the last war—half the battle will have been won. But unless this principle is clearly brought forth and accepted, the peace cannot last for long. "Remember Pearl Harbor" has challenged America. But "Remember Manchuria" and "Remember Ethiopia" and "Remember the Rhineland" will be even more important in the after-victory period.

The second principle is that of the right to freedom for all people; for example, the right of the Chinese to have all nations—not just Japan—give up every extra-territorial "right" in China, and to receive equal treatment at the council of nations. Surely if any people has earned that right it is the Chinese. India, too, has a right to have her internal problems considered as problems of a great nation, not problems of a "dependency" of a European power. Then there is the right of the inhabitants of every so-called "colony" to live under an administration seeking their welfare rather than the economic gain of another people. This can, with the application of a little wisdom, be accomplished under enlightened international control. For international control of colonial areas can logically aim only at the opening of these areas to the trade of all the world and to a building up of their economic life to a point where that trade will be generally of importance. Finally, there is the right of the peoples of Latin America to have the Good Neighbor Policy written indelibly into the national life of the United States. Upon this hinges the greatest single hope of the world for the development of a peaceful community of nations living side by side without distrust or fear and requiring no over-all police force to keep the peace between them.

But freedom is a word of many meanings and for the peoples of the various nations to be truly free requires the application of two corollary principles. The first is the principle of the right of every people to the fullest industrial development of which it is capable and to the nearest approach to a balanced economy which its resources make possible. And the second is the principle of mutually advantageous trade whereby the peoples of the world exchange the things they really want to exchange, and wherein certain nations are no longer referred to as markets, others as sources of raw material, and others as industrial nations, but where, instead, access to needed food and fibre and raw material is guaranteed in so far as any such guarantee is humanly possible.

With most of what has gone before there will probably be little disagreement in principle. But none of it is going to be possible, nor can any secure groundwork for lasting peace be laid, unless one further principle is established in the internal economies of the great nations of the world. This final principle upon which all else will depend and which, incidentally, was completely ignored at the peace table of Versailles is that the

people of each nation shall be enabled at all times to consume an amount of goods and services equivalent to their production of goods and services. Unless this is achieved, there will be unemployment in America. We shall be afraid of imports, afraid of machines, afraid of the industrial progress of other nations. Unless we do this most fundamental thing, there will not be jobs for all our returning soldiers—but instead, a situation in which political demagogues and would-be dictators will flourish in the very nation that today is heart and sinew of the forces of freedom. An America so wracked could not go to the peace table with either assurance or power. She could not effectively help to build the peace of the world.

III

AGAIN and again the author has insisted that it is the duty of the Congress and the people of the United States to begin now to develop a democratically conceived program which will assure our own people—especially our producers—that when victory has been achieved, we will not permit a drop in consumer demand but will replace the vast expenditures of the Government for the war with equivalent sources of consumer purchasing power. For the same reason the writer has been calling for the establishment now of a national commission to prepare for the fulfillment of this basic and all-important task when victory has been won.

The immediate menace to freedom in the world is the military power of nazi Germany and Japan. The greatest future menace to freedom and hope for human kind after the war has been won, will be, if we permit it to happen, a lack of assurance to the people of this nation of an adequate and sustained flow of consumer buying power in the markets of the country. By the time America gets into full stride in the war, we shall be spending about $70,000,000,000 a year on armaments and war expenses. Some of that will have to continue after the war has been won. But most of these huge governmental expenditures must be replaced by other sources of consumer income if we are to have jobs for the returning men who will have won the war and if we are to have a condition of economic health in our nation.

With our own people fully employed, with practical emphasis placed upon increasing effective demand rather than reducing supplies, with hope in the hearts of "little" people, and a full draft of purchasing power upon the capacity of our industry and agriculture to produce, our nation can and will be in a position to do a constructive job of leadership at the peace table. But if we permit the demand to fail, if consequently there is no incentive to conversion of industry back to peacetime production, if unemployment stalks the land with unrest and discontent and confusion in the people's minds, then we shall find it difficult indeed to gain support in America for the kind of farsighted peace-building policies which the times will demand.

And again the hope of freedom in the world of tomorrow will depend directly upon maintaining a good enough economic condition to prevent movements for the establishment of communist or fascist dictatorship in America from gaining strength. There are those not altogether unfriendly to such totalitarian systems who for that very reason have and will continue to oppose vigorously any attempt to develop a program of democratic post-war reconstruction. There are others, however, who are afraid of what they call post-war planning because they think it will lead to socialism or to a great extension of governmental control over the lives of the people. On the contrary, the thing that is most likely to bring precisely that result is the present policy of drift. For if, with victory won, we have still failed to develop democratically an orderly program of transition to a peacetime economy of full employment, then indeed the only thing we shall be likely to do will be to accept some huge "emergency" proposal of the Chief Executive, based on an ever increasing volume of public works.

IV

UPON what sort of program of action, then, can this hope of a free world be founded? It must be founded first upon clarity and absolute frankness as to both methods and objectives. This is something we have not always had in recent years. A National Commission on Post-War Reconstruction, such as the House Joint Resolution 291 proposes to create, could spend part of its time clearly defining the fields of activity in which the Government should engage in the post-war world and, on the other hand, the fields into which it defi-

nitely should not enter. Indeed, what is needed at present is to build up a great body of middle-of-the-road support for and understanding of a program for America which will start with the absolute necessity of full employment, a full market, and abundant production, but which will seek to accomplish these objectives by motivating full economic activity rather than directing it.

This last statement, upon which a whole political philosophy can be built, requires some expansion. And our first rule must be this: that when the supply of goods exceeds the effective demand, we will cure this by increasing the effective demand by adding to the money the people have to spend and we will never attempt to cure it by reducing the supply. An important, if not the most important key to applying this rule is to recognize the central responsibility of Government for maintaining a constant relationship between the production of goods and services and the active demand for them. Nor should the Government be required, as it is today, to go constantly deeper and deeper into debt to accomplish this. The practical application of this principle must be that whatever amount of additional money-in-circulation is required in any given period to prevent deflation and unemployment from setting in and to maintain a balance between capacity to produce and money demand for goods, that amount of money, either in the form of credit or currency, and no more, shall be provided by Congress through a central monetary agency of that body without the incurrence of any additional public debt. Were this practice followed, the nation as a whole would have the opportunity of earning its way out of debt through the increase of its production of goods. But without this change in our financial and monetary methods, the one great economic question after the war will be the carrying charges on the national debt. And should it be made to appear by our policies that only a continual increase in the interest bearing debt can make full employment possible, then indeed there will be danger that even the most important Governmental programs will be subordinated to an effort to avoid such debt increase. If this consequence does not take place we might still face the danger of the advocacy of deliberate inflation, or even of repudiation as means of escape from a debt service burden so onerous as to make unsound and demagogic appeal of this kind find willing listeners.

At the center of a full employment economy there must be a system of distribution of buying power to the consumers of the nation that will be dependable and sure—a virtual guarantee to producers that if they do go ahead and produce, the market will not fail. The social security system must then be expanded to include all old people (except those of independent means), all the disabled, all widowed mothers, and similar groups which either cannot or should not be employed. It is through these groups primarily—by the direct payment of benefits, pensions, or whatever we wish to call them—that a sustained core of buying power, hence a sustained draft upon productive powers, can and should be achieved. These things clearly do not increase the Government's control nor give it directive power over the people and their economic life, but they can and will motivate full production by the use of the only fundamental motive that works in a free economy—an effective demand for goods and services.

In the third place, the tax system must be so devised as to encourage industry and production, to discourage hoarding, and to assist—largely through inheritance and estate taxes—in the breaking up of over-large accumulations of financial power which in themselves are stifling the small enterprise of others. As a source of revenue as yet untapped there should be put into effect — if necessary by constitutional amendment—a tax on socially created land and franchise values. Such a tax will tend to make resources more readily available to those who desire to actually use them for productive purposes. And as a corollary to the levying of such a tax there could and should take place a sharp reduction of taxes now levied against building and farm improvements and against farm land as such regardless of its location and just because it is a farm.

Revenue should be derived primarily from graduated individual income taxes and inheritance taxes, not from business taxes. But excess profits taxes should be retained as a means of equalizing business opportunities as well as to make possible a sharp reduction in normal taxes and surtaxes on legitimate business profits. And small business—earning, for example, less than $15,000 a year—should be exempted.

Farmers must be assured a full market at a fair price for abundant balanced production. A nation-wide drive to end all malnutrition based on an expanded School Lunch and Stamp

Plan program can be used for this purpose. And emphasis can be laid upon those products of which we need more production by saying that the products which are eligible for purchase with the stamps or for use in school lunches shall be all those which ought to be produced in substantial quantity for the sake of national health, rather than only those which have been produced in so-called "surplus."

V

AGAIN, our hope for a free world depends directly upon a far more vigorous drive against monopoly power after the war than we have ever had before. For wherever irresponsible power is gained by any group of men there is danger to freedom and to democracy itself. First, of course, there is industrial and financial monopoly, whose very existence is a denial of freedom to enterprise of smaller means and to the nation itself. Artificial control of price or output by such monopoly is in a very real sense the arch-crime against an economy that wants to be free. There must be a most wholehearted continuance and expansion of the work started by Thurman Arnold. And this time, he or his successor in the anti-trust division must have real support—instead of lip service or outright opposition—from other government officials. The corporation tax structure must be such as to deliberately give advantage to small competitive industries as opposed to huge monopolies.

Financial monopoly centers, of course, in the great New York City banks and the Bank of America of California. There should be an end to the spread of branch banking. And the privilege of creating the medium of exchange for this whole nation — the privilege upon which the whole inverted pyramid of financial monopoly rests—must be taken from private banks and restored to the people acting through Congress, where it belongs.

But there are other fields, too, where we must work. Measures will probably have to be taken to assure the effective control of labor organizations by the rank and file—especially where a closed shop exists. The closed shop must never be combined with what in effect is a closed union—where admission to membership in the organization is denied to qualified men or put beyond their reach by exorbitant initiation fees and dues. The day when labor organizations had to fight for their very existence is, let us hope, largely past in America, and we face a new situation in which it has become a duty of the Government to see that regular elections are held and full reports, financial and otherwise, given the union membership—as is already done by the best unions.

Finally, there must be avoided a vast aggregation of power in the hands of governmental agencies. As has been said, the Government must take up and perform vigorously the necessary task of motivating full production. But there must not be dependence upon the Government on the part of people in the prime of life who must desire above all things to be truly free and self-sufficient. Neither need there be governmental direction of economic activity except in fields of natural monopoly such as public utilities and electric power or in such activities as slum clearance, reclamation, flood control, and highway construction where private enterprise simply cannot cope with the job. This reduction of governmental power will not be easy to attain—especially in view of the tremendous powers the Government will have taken to itself during the war. But the better the job of assuring a continuous distribution of a full volume of buying power is done, the less will be the need or excuse for governmental direction or control.

Probably the very best answer that has yet been developed to private monopoly on the one hand and "big government" on the other is the co-operative. Here the people themselves—farmers, consumers, purchasers of insurance, credit union members, electric power users, have done things for themselves without any aid, subsidy, or direction from the Government. They have met monopoly on its own ground and beaten it. They have brought an element of honest and effective competition into every line of business they have entered. Governmental subvention of the "Co-ops" would kill the movement. But at least we can say: "God bless them, may they grow and prosper."

Here then, in all too brief form, is a general sketch of the kind of program on which a genuine hope of freedom in the post-war world can be built. Public works there will have to be, for many will be sorely needed. But they should be limited to those which are financially, economically, and socially justifiable on their own merits. And our main reliance should be not upon them but rather upon the measures already sketched which will assure the producers of America that her consumers will

continuously have the buying power necessary to sustain a full market for abundant output.

To be free the world of tomorrow must not be afraid of abundance, neither can it be allowed to fear unemployment. Nor must any nation fear the prosperity and welfare of other peoples. Upon our freedom from fear of these things our main best hope of freedom in its larger sense depends. And it is altogether possible for us to have that freedom. For we can conquer unemployment without governmental dictatorship if we really want to. May this hope become the inspiration of America as we fight forward to victory.

THE DANGEROUS PATTER OF PEACE

By Lyman Bryson

IT is a year since the Atlantic Charter was offered as the first dim blueprint for a post-war world. Nine months ago the Japanese put this country actively into the business of helping to make that world, and post-war planning has since become the chief occupation of many Americans, some of whom are eminently qualified to do part of that appalling job. The President, the Vice President, the Secretary, and the Under Secretary of State have made speeches designed to set up clearly visible guidelines. Public agencies within the Government, and private agencies outside, have named study and planning committees whose members are expected to foresee what may happen, and to map what ought to happen, if we can succeed in managing events.

By February, 1942, the Twentieth Century Fund was publishing a list of more than two hundred public and private agencies engaged in post-war planning, and the number has steadily grown since then. The Woodrow Wilson Library set aside a special section to house books, pamphlets, and articles on the subject. Big industry was reported busy with plans for post-war expansion. The publishers of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune* set up a somewhat mysterious "Q Committee" under Raymond Leslie Buell, with a mandate to plan a post-war world for the greatness of America. The Columbia Broadcasting System established a post-war planning intelligence service to watch, study, and analyze the books, speeches, and articles that pretend to point the way. Meanwhile, forum discussion of the same subjects has been going on vigorously in the schools and colleges. It has burgeoned among organizations having a long interest in international affairs and among spontaneous groups that wanted to know more—or at least that wanted to hear distinguished foreign speakers. Radio chains are besieged with ideas for post-war planning programs. Some forty states will have post-war material in the autumn courses of study in their public schools.

All of this is healthy. Optimists might interpret all of it as arising out of a desire for education on what is certainly one of our most important problems. But the springs of such action are deeper and more complex. Some of it, undoubtedly, comes from an honest need to define what we are fighting for, to picture the kind of world we want as a price for fighting. Some of it is no more than escape in an

honorable guise for those who must disregard the horrors of reality. Some of it, particularly in the field of domestic and industrial economy, is the frank expression of hard self-interest.

To say that its appeal is emotional is no adverse criticism. We shall need a powerful backing of emotion to keep our eyes on the high goals when the reaction comes. But this is in the great tradition. We have always believed in a better tomorrow, from the first days of Plymouth Colony, the Virginia plantations, and the western missions, to the time when we were told, in the midst of the late depression, that the last frontier was closed and we must get used to a contracting economy.

However, there is not only wholesome tradition behind this present tide of interest in post-war planning, and a strength that holds promise for the future; there are also dangers. The tide may rise too high too early, and waste itself on faraway Utopias now, only to ebb when the moment comes to harness our powers to some practicable good. The staggering size of the problem may lead to dabbling in many phases rather than to any grasp of the whole. The process of education now going on might spend itself in giving new names to things, and creating a pseudoscientific vocabulary to conceal ignorance and real indifference. The experts themselves might get confused in their own lore and forget what they are planning for, which is the good of living and future men. Most of all, there is danger that the common man, *whose war this is and whose peace this must be if it is to be any good,* will be deafened by the confusion and will turn back to some dead normalcy again.

These dangers are real. It takes only a little listening to make one aware that a kind of glib professionalism is creeping into speeches about post-war problems, especially in the international field, and that a "patter" is forming which pretends more understanding than it conveys. Read a few of the verbatim reports of post-war planning forums. Their similarity of pattern and patter is evident. And there is too much obscurity, too much willingness to hide in generalities, too easy a belief, characteristic perhaps of this over-articulate age, that the process of education and understanding is merely a matter of tying tags on ideas and getting them into the minutes. We must have discussion. Can it be made effective?

Fortunately, this process has not yet gone so far that it cannot be stopped. The problem as a whole is so much more important to all of us than is any individual stake in a plan or a phrase. We can cure confusion while there is yet time. We can look frankly at the present stage of our speeches, our books, our discussions, and find the places where the fog is thick. If we have any good simple clear ideas, we had better dig down to them now.

As concerns the last war and what happened when we lost the peace, we are making a fairly good analysis. Some points are still at issue, but we know what they are. But we have hardly begun to draw from this analysis the principles with which to face subsequent problems of the present and the future. We are too much like a doctor called in to treat a baby in convulsions who would say, "Oh yes, whooping cough. Very interesting stage in it, too. So glad you called it to my attention. I must make a note of it." And then go off to lecture to the local women's club on the convulsive stage of whooping cough with such aplomb that his hearers go out parroting his phrases and quite certain that they know all about post-whooping cough planning.

By what Hoover and Gibson, in this connection, have called the "cold surgery of analysis" we can see several issues on which we shall have to have decisive opinions. They are not all of equal importance, and the list is not exhaustive. These, however, are certainly issues on which it will not do to have ambiguous notions:

1. The need for a long armistice after the fighting stops, as a substitute for trying, as we did last time, to solve all problems at a quick peace table, and the complementary danger in a long drawn out opportunity for imperialistic skulduggery. Those most in favor of a long transition seldom stop to outline its cost in money or man power, the machinery it would call for, the difficulty of persuading either the occupied or the occupying peoples of our honesty.

2. The need for setting up an international police force to keep order in the world and the danger of imperialism or militarism as a result. Order must be restored, but have we the trained personnel for such a task in America or elsewhere? Who will trust his neighbor to use force on behalf of all of us? Are we prepared to face the possibilities of a real international force?

3. The need for ceding some degree of sovereignty in order that some form of supra-

national organization of the post-war world may be brought about. But the writer who comes close enough home to discuss the difficulty of persuading the American Congress to cede one iota of sovereignty over anything is as rare as a snow-white blackberry. The speaker who has thought out possible ways of winning over the American Congress to this idea is even rarer. Sovereignty is an abstraction whose very concept differs in different parts of the world and we are not giving it the kind of analysis that will enable us to decide on action.

4. The forms of supranational organization supported by various groups have received a great deal of detailed study. The opposition to any international government is latent but powerful. Proposals range from a series of loose associations of states through various plans for regional organizations, Federal Union, and a restored League of Nations, to a new world organization complete with a court, a representative legislative body, and technical committees. Too often these dim dreams which are expected to do away with conflicting nationalisms and bring us peace are seen through expectations glorious enough to hide the problems. Whether or not one agrees with his proposal, it is only fair to say that men like Clarence Streit, working long hours on a single plan and thinking through its details and its difficulties, are very few.

5. What shall we do with small nations? Shall they have the right to determine their own governments? If so, what happens if they choose "the wrong kind" that endanger their neighbors and our peace? Is it democratic to compel others to be democratic? These questions are seldom put so bluntly. More than one speaker has chosen to embrace both horns of more than one dilemma, self-determination of small nations and a world organization based on democracy, refusing to see that they conflict. The problem of small nations is, of course, as thorny as any in the pack, and the more we can know about the contradictions that exist between the probable nationalistic behavior of restored governments and the international co-operation that must be achieved the better prepared we are to reconcile them.

6. What shall we do with Germany? Can we afford revenge? How are we Americans to make the victims of the Nazis listen to us? If we choose to conciliate, how can we make it work?

7. Then there is a group of problems that are no more difficult, but certainly more technical. They come under the technician's umbrella; perhaps they can be dismissed by the general public with a clear conscience. Also they are tangible instead of being veiled in history and tradition. They concern migrations and their effect, the problem of minorities, the need for feeding whole populations, and proposals of ways and means for re-educating the victims of nazi training. When an expert gets his teeth into one of these problems the public really learns something.

It is possible to talk about such vital matters now, while the fighting is still in a critical stage and victory is still a vision. Now is the time that they must be talked about, but not in glib generalities or with a semi-professional patter. They must be talked about now because they are being fought about now, so that out of the talking and the fighting can come both a plan and a conviction that will hold when the fighting is done.

It will be much harder to plan then, and almost impossible to improvise. Then, when dreams must be translated into signed agreements, we shall encounter the heavy pull of reaction from men in all countries who sat silent while we talked, who husbanded their strength while we ran after Utopias, who held their opposition in leash until they were sure we were weary. Then we shall need clear heads, sure knowledge, a plan so forged and tested in advance by close argument and minute examination that it will stand against the dead weight of the world.

We have not yet made much progress toward such knowledge, or such a plan. The path is open for our finding; the job is ours for the doing. But we will have to work at it, harder than we have been working up to now. It is not too much to say that unless the quality of our thinking improves, unless we find better ways and means of translating both the problem and the possible solutions into terms that move the common man, we shall find ourselves in acute danger of muffing the treaties and losing the peace, as we did before. We cannot afford to waste our strength on generalities and mere Utopias, we cannot afford to be afraid of new ideas. The balance of wise courage is hard to find but not impossible. We can have peace by paying the price for it and part of that price is to be paid now in hard study and clear thought.

BULWARK *for the* 4 FREEDOMS

by

Robert J. Watt

FROM the tenth to the sixteenth of September, the first Inter-American Conference on Social Security, sponsored by the International Labor Office, was held in Santiago de Chile. At this conference representatives from all countries on the American continent considered the principles and methods whereby democratic governments seek to improve the living conditions of their people. The results of their deliberations were expressed in a resolution which declared that:

> The decision of the Americas with a view to a new structure of social security represents a contribution to world solidarity in seeking the welfare of the peoples and attainment and maintenance of peace. This action implies for the American nations the necessity of establishing a common reservoir for everything required for preserving unity. The health and capacity of the workers of any one nation is the concern of all American nations; therefore concerted action for social security institutions is necessary for the preservation of human assets as a guarantee of continental integrity and defense.

These views have the enthusiastic support of American labor. At a time when every effort is being made to mobilize men and materials against the physical dangers of armed aggression, we need more than ever to defend our people and our free institutions against the demoralization caused within our nations by the widespread dependency which social insurance is so well designed to prevent. Even if human suffering and economic chaos were not involved, the expense of social insurance would be justified as a domestic defense against the insidious termites of destitution and discontent which are the most subversive elements confronting our nations and out of which ruthless dictatorships are born.

The workers of the United States are eager to see *our* nation lead the way in creating a real, well-rounded social security program to protect the workers and their families against the hazards of our civilization. At the moment that is no easy task because we must fight to protect the right to have security. *That task takes priority over any and all other questions.* But to win that right we must not forget that we must demonstrate to our people that our purposes are real, and that we mean to provide the security we fight for. We must recognize that such security represents in large measure the equipment, the health, and the spirit of the peoples of our nations.

We must recognize that real social security for the masses of people is a major bulwark for the Four Freedoms and an important part of the economic democracy we must create in our nations. It is an important spearhead in the battle of ideologies for the allegiance of men and women everywhere, for the ideals and institutions for which we battle against the foe.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of these first steps taken at this historic meeting, held under the auspices of the Chilean

Robert J. Watt

Government. In a very real sense, they assure to future generations a sounder and stronger foundation of justice within the nations of our hemisphere. They have given the initial impulse to the creation in our nations of standards of decency which will evoke the enthusiastic hopes of the masses of people wherever they live. In offering living proof that representative government can and does solve economic and social problems more fully than any dictatorship, they constitute the best defense of liberty and democracy.

It will be no easy task to convert these views and proposals into political realities. But if we are to demonstrate our concern for the well-being of the masses of workers, we must plan *now* to give them real protection, against anything which interferes with their ability to earn a decent living for themselves and their families. We must start now, when the employment of civilians is so extensive that a maximum base for an insurance program can be assured and when it can be helpful in preventing inflation by diverting purchasing power into proper social and economic channels.

I think I can safely say that workers throughout the world are not fighting for the well-being of one people or one race. *They are not fighting to preserve the status quo.* They are fighting to remove the *verboten* sign from the eyes and ears and mouths and souls of men and women everywhere. They are fighting to realize the simple hopes of the common man to be free. They are fighting because workers the world over prize richly the joys and enthusiasm of human freedom. They are fighting so that the world of tomorrow will be a decent world, and a world of equal opportunity and security for all, and privilege for none. They are determined that while we battle against the Axis Powers to preserve the Four Freedoms, we shall go forward, hand in hand together, toward two of them—freedom from want and freedom from fear.

In this great effort to develop mutual respect, confidence, and understanding among men of good will and to achieve victory in peace as well as in war, workers in all our nations pledge their strength and skill and loyalty so that all may win and preserve the right to share the fruits of the toil of men and women.

Chu Hsueh-fan

ANOTHER notable addition to our International Honorary Board is made in this issue by the election of Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan. We welcome him as a distinguished representative of labor and as an energetic worker for the cause of democracy. Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan is the President of the Chinese Association of Labor and a member of the General Council of the International Transport Workers Federation. For five years he has been the delegate of Chinese workers to the conferences of the International Labor Organization, where he is one of the members of the Governing Body. With the presence of Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan, our Board now includes representatives of the leading labor organizations of the world.

Making the World Ready

BY
LI YU YING

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PROFESSOR Li Yu Ying, President of the Chinese National Academy of Peiping, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Democratic Party (Kuomintang), was one of the founders of an international organization, called World Co-operation, which was created 36 years ago. At present he advocates the creation of a popular world confederation which will be of great value in educating the peoples of all countries in the basic principles of the United Nations.

MANY of us who have participated in a political phenomenon, such as the Chinese revolution, the last war, or the League of Nations believe deeply that it is indispensable to examine immediately the different problems of post-war reconstruction. This war is not a war like those of the past, in which men fought and killed each other for kings and emperors without thinking about the results of the war and about the future. The democratic bloc is composed of countries in which the people have learned to think, and this public, apart from its desire to destroy the the last vestiges of fascism, is preoccupied with the problem of the creation of a world in which war, tyranny, and misery will no longer be possible. If we wait until the end of the war, it might very well happen that it will be too late, as often before in history it has been too late.

Another question which is also often debated in democratic groups is that of whether humanity is ready for world organization. This is a complex question because the word "ready" is not only a qualitative but also a quantitative notion. In other words, it is a question of degree. The writer remembers that in China before the revolution, the Rightist parties believed that the republican regime was premature and that the Chinese people were not ready for the revolution. The Rightist parties were wrong, because shortly afterward it was proved that the people were ready. When the war of resistance against Japanese aggression began, even the best elements of resistance were not certain in their estimate of the length of time that China could resist. But China resisted for five years. This leads us to the conclusion that the readiness of humanity is an imponderable and it depends upon many different factors.

If world organization is a historic necessity — and no one can doubt it—then humanity must be made ready by means of untiring education. The important thing is to communicate to mankind the ideas which will prove that international co-operation is possible through constructive methods of international organization based on federalist principles. Such principles will avoid the predominance of one or another bloc of powers and will create bases of real equality.

At present we have one organization of governments, that is, the United Nations, which is the beginning of a world confederation because it is based on the equality of its members, but there is still no similar confederation in the sphere of private organizations. Such a confederation of private organizations could be invaluable in educating public opinion in the principles of federalist co-operation. Therefore, the creation of a world confederation of private organizations interested in international affairs is indispensable. We would then have the official confederation representing all governments, the United Nations, and the pri-

vate confederation representing organizations of public opinion all over the world. The fact that the private confederation would be composed essentially of popular groups is extremely important because it will have its roots in the people; because it will be able to express the aspirations of humanity much more quickly than the slow and sometimes bureaucratic governmental machinery. Of course, the private confederation will not exclude the co-operation of official representatives, as the official confederation should not exclude the representatives of private confederations.

One of the best examples of such organizations was established in the International Labor Office, where workers, employers, and government representatives meet together. Both organizations, the governmental and the popular one, are distinct and autonomous but they are not in opposition and they should, in fact, be in constant collaboration. And the private organizations have the task of watching that the governmental organizations do not retrogress. A popular world organization will always facilitate the task of the truly democratic governments. The League of Nations ideas, for example, were spread to much larger popular groups by private organizations such as the International Federation of the League of Nations and the International Peace Campaign. The United Nations, in their governmental aspect, need similar organizations constantly to spread the ideal of unity among all the democratic peoples of the world.

The spirit and the method of federalism are not intransigent and not utopian. They are necessary and realizable and, of all the systems we know of, the best which exists because it develops the spirit and the creative capacity of each nation. And inside each nation it increases tremendously the potential possibilities of the individual citizen who therefore, through the federal method, ceases to be a simple object of state and really participates in the fate not only of his own country but of all humanity as well.

A new method and technique will be necessary in order to avoid the many conflicts with which humanity has been faced and is still being faced. The writer calls this method the "social technique," which is the guarantee of the realization of the social revolution. A new social technique based on the spirit of federalism, and therefore of equality, is the only technique which avoids conflict and injustice.

The conception of a world confederation is not new. It can be traced through different institutions in ancient Greece and in China, and it has been the preoccupation of thinkers throughout history. The United Nations, being an expression of the evolution and the progress of humanity, and not being an institution based on power politics, needs a popular world confederation to complete its work, to educate, to experience in the people themselves the fundamental principles of egalitarian organization. No government and no governmental institution can inaugurate such a decisive and new period of history as the United Nations without having, at the same time, a corresponding popular organization.

A popular world confederation will teach the peoples who were accustomed for a long time to live separately, despite an inborn social sense, to live together. It will teach them to live in a great human community without distinction, without inequality, without class or race prejudices. As a matter of fact, this new world confederation will be a school of new living without which the great principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity will never become a reality. The popular world confederation will consist of federations, groupments, organizations, and associations of all kinds from all continents and from all nations; it will embrace nations, states, provinces, cantons, villages, and individuals. Here is a constructive way of preparing and starting the reconstruction of the world.

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MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT will preside at the opening meeting of the first conference of the World Confederation of International Groupments at which distinguished speakers from all continents will discuss the question of world federalism. The meeting will be held at 7:30 P.M. on Friday, December 4, at the Commodore Hotel. The conference will continue on Saturday. Invitations may be obtained at the offices of FREE WORLD.

The International Significance of the Free Italian Movement

by

CARLO SFORZA

THE movement for the liberation of Italy from the nazi-fascist yoke is a sacred duty of forty-five million Italians in Italy and for some fifteen million Italians or sons of Italians in the two Americas.

For the leaders of the United Nations it begins to be—despite the resistance of certain rare philo-fascist relics—a formidable dynamic possibility for the destruction of the Axis forces.

This has been my opinion since the fateful days in the autumn of 1940 when the two Englands—the England of the rich and the England of the dispossessed—stood equally impassible, cursing or deriding the nazi raids, with not a Briton considering either surrender or even compromise. But marvelous as it was, British resistance was resistance and not victory. Russian resistance is even more heroic; but it is resistance, not victory.

Where is victory to be sought? For the first time in history we are engaged in a war of continents. The historical battlefields of old Europe, which stretched from the Low Countries to the Lombard plains, have lost their meaning. This war will in all likelihood be won with a victory whose name will be the Battle of North Africa. The past failure of the British and Free French to wrest Dakar from the Vichy officials should therefore be considered a disaster as great as if not greater than Crete, Burma, or Singapore. Hence the vital importance of the Italian factor for victory when the United Nations decide to fight the war in the only place where victory is most probable, namely, in North Africa.

True, that event does not seem imminent. The puerile propaganda served up by certain demagogic American and British newspapers has claimed at least ten times that the Italian fleet lies at the bottom of the Mediterranean although hard reality shows that it still functions effectively. This factor, far more than the much-heralded military genius of the overestimated Rommel, explains the series of British reverses in North Africa. May I add, in parenthesis, that such ill-founded anti-Italian boasts have gone far toward fortifying Italian naval officers in the performance of what was to them their military duty despite the well-established fact that most of them dislike and despise fascism?

What is true for the officers holds even truer for the mass of Italians. What can they think of the articles of certain Allied newspapermen deriding the courage of Italian soldiers and sailors who have always done what they have considered to be their military duty even when racked by the most tragic doubts? It is sheer madness to try and incite the Italian people against fascism while wounding them in their most profound sentiments.

Impatient foreigners and skeptics often ask, over-simply, "If this is true, why don't the Italians rebel?"

There are two reasons for this: one material, the other moral. The material reason is that an Italian revolt would play into Hitler's hand so long as North Africa remains in German hands or is controlled by the puppets of Vichy. A change in the war map of the Mediterranean would encourage a miraculous and swift co-operation on the part of the Italians which would prove more decisive than co-operation in Belgium, Holland, Poland, or

France, since it would mean the smashing of the Axis from within.

However, it is the moral reason behind the apparent passivity of the Italians which is more important today. It is due largely to the fact that our friends the world over have not yet come to the realization that popular insurrections are not the product of half-measures. When an oppressed people arises, it sweeps away its tyrants and, in the process, also their henchmen. What can the Italians think of certain policies which imply: "Get rid of your wicked Mussolini but don't be too rough and don't go too far."

Nor has any compelling voice—such as the clarion call that was sounded with the Declaration of Independence at the beginning of the American Revolution—been raised by the defenders of democracy to tell us that the hateful thing is fascism, whereas Italy is loved and respected; that the dictators have everything to fear while the oppressed people have everything to gain if they rebel. But the laws of history will prevail and that voice will be heard. And one day—may it come soon both for them and for ourselves—the leaders of the United States will understand how vital are the supreme political decisions which alone can fire the Italians to action.

II

HOWEVER, the influence of a movement leading the Italians to revolt against fascism is not limited to the not yet immediate hypothesis of a shift in the balance of forces in the Mediterranean. What I saw during my recent trip to Latin America for the Congress of the Free Italians in Montevideo has led me to the conclusion that Italian groups organized by our movement could render precious and immediate aid to the cause of human freedom and of the United Nations in the Latin American continent which is both so near and so removed from the United States.

The most impressive thing about Montevideo was the symbolic character which Uruguay immediately assumed for me as a token of the present and an admirable omen of the future. In Uruguay, I felt myself at once in Italy and in America. In my conversations with Foreign Minister Guani I always felt the most complete community of ideals.

The Italians of Latin America—from Argentina and Uruguay to Chile and Peru—may become a matchless force for the liberation of Italy and the victory of the United Nations. A statesman and jurist like Guani and certain very able ministers of the Argentinian Government are proud of their Italian origin. Ardently faithful to their land of adoption, they know, both as statesmen and heirs of the lucid Italian historical sense, that the vassalage of Italy and of the rest of Europe to nazism is but the first step toward the enslavement of the two Americas, which would be reduced to the status of colonies to be ruthlessly exploited by the proponents of the most insolent of racial theories.

I do not contest the good faith of Señor Ruiz Guinazu, Argentinian Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he says that he pursues a pro-German policy in consideration of the sentiments of the Italians. Señor Guinazu does not realize that he is completely ignorant about the Italian people, that he has had no contact with the masses and has considered as the representatives of Italy a few parvenu Italians that fascism had bought out with titles and decorations. The reality is that in Argentina, as in the other South American republics, and most especially in generous Brazil where Araña may be able to do great things, all those who have Italian blood in their veins—from men in high social positions, like Torquato Di Tella who has been fighting fascism for the past twenty years, and two or three other captains of industry, to the ardent mass who, in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, gave me unforgettable proofs of loyalty to Italy and to freedom—are ready to take active part in the war against fascism and nazism because they feel that America, historically so young and so rich in natural resources, has far more to fear from nazi hegemony than have the nations of old Europe.

Why did the enthusiasm provoked by the Montevideo Congress of the Free Italians go even beyond the hopes of the organizers? For one reason alone: because words were spoken there that millions were eagerly awaiting. Moreover, if one stops to think of those miraculous bonds of sympathy which link Italy and Latin America, one might say that the same enthusiasm would sweep over Italy if the Italians could have a complete vision of what went on during those days at Montevideo.

But we must not forget that the wondrous awakening of a national soul is a phenomenon as precious as it is delicate. It must be ex-

ploited as soon as it comes into full development. To hesitate, to dally, to "wait and see" may seem the prudent policy but it may involve the destruction of possibilities that are pregnant with promise and hope.

The Montevideo Conference proclaimed the urgency of the following steps:

1. The creation of a National Committee to encourage all Italians in the struggle against fascism;

2. The organization, through this committee, of an Italian Legion which will fight the foe of Italian freedom and independence. Commander Pacciardi was chosen as organizer and leader of the Legion, just as I had been entrusted with the task of creating the National Committee.

It is evident that only a National Committee will be able to provide a flag, a symbol, a beacon for the Italians in Italy, and for all those who are scattered over the world—men who, having received orders they believe in, will stand ready to fight for the ideals proclaimed by the Committee.

Now that the Germans are the masters of Europe, we must not repeat the errors of the Chamberlains, the Daladiers, and the Bonnets who refused the precious aid of Italians, afraid as they were to incur the displeasure of Mussolini. Should such errors be repeated they would deserve an uglier name. But how could I dare believe that political leaders who share my faith in our common ideals and who want—as I do for Italy—enduring peace for their own people—how can I believe that they would hesitate when face to face with a problem of such scope and fraught with such possibilities?

Italy was ready to overthrow fascism after the murder of Matteotti. Italy was ready to cast off fascism on the eve of the sanctions when the Italians ingenuously believed that Chamberlain and Laval would fight instead of deliberately saving the tottering regime. Italy is ready again today: ready as never before, because no people feels as do the Italians the full horror of German domination. The errors of the past will not be repeated. I am sure of that.

III

WITHOUT arrogating to use who live abroad the right of making decisions for Italy—the Italians will choose their own regime when Italy is free and we shall all bow to their verdict—thousands of reports that come to us from Italy induce us to believe that the Italians will adopt a democratic republic.

In this crisis the words, "new world," are on everybody's lips. But when we come to the crux of the matter, many dread this new world. As for me, I foresee a radiant international future for a new Italian democracy, representing at the same time the prudent thought of Cattaneo and the genius of Mazzini; Italy will co-operate in the creation of the new international law to which all countries will bow; Italy will be proud to be the first to abdicate some of her sovereign national rights on the altar of the commonweal of nations but on condition that the other nations do as much; Italy will be ready to propose a common administration of all as yet undeveloped colonies, thus obviating all new reasons for conflict arising from the unequal distribution of raw materials.

With the elimination of imperialistic lies and illusions, our supreme ideal for the domestic life of the country will be to finally make of Italy "the mother of all and the stepmother of none." I personally favor profound agrarian and industrial reforms which, by destroying privilege and parasitism, will transform millions of Italians into citizens who are conscious of their new duties and the masters of their new rights. Only in this way will the Italy of tomorrow set an example of social progress and civil peace because her sons will feel that they are defending a society which has given them a maximum of justice and well-being while safeguarding the intangible independence of human individuality.

The world would be astounded if I could reveal the names of certain Italians—even old Italians who have served loyally under two Kings—who have sent me their most enthusiastic endorsement of such a program but who add: "It is imperative, however, to make a clean sweep of old symbols; we must establish a republic. A monarchy would mean no new ideals, continuous disorder, the best terrain for fresh revolutions."

Is it perhaps for this reason—or perhaps because of a sad lack of moral idealism—that the Italian Communists living in this country have reproached me in their press for not being more lenient toward the errors and perjuries of the monarchy? What compensates me

for such a paradoxical criticism is the warm support I have received, even in this field, by deep and important Italian currents of Christian democracy.

Foreign conservatives—I mean the enlightened ones—should be delighted with this Italian resolution not to maintain discredited and dishonored regimes that would open the door to a long series of disorders when Italy wants to forge ahead on the road of civil peace. By the way, the British who, all of them, rightly admire their monarchy would have greater reason to be proud of it if it stood almost alone in the world as a proof of the British genius for adapting old instruments to new situations. Continental kings of famous and non-famous capitals, Kings who run to Berchtesgaden for audiences although technically "prisoners of war," Kings who break their most sacred oaths, pretenders who are ready to accept a crown from the invader of their country, certainly add nothing to the prestige of the British monarchy.

If Japan is today such a terrible threat to America, it is because its emperor, finding himself at the crossroad between peace—which he really wanted — and incarceration in the old palace of Kyoto at the hands of the military clique, did not hesitate: he gave in, out of fear. If France capitulated, it was especially because another King—the King of Belgium—failed in his duty and refused to fly to Congo and continue fighting from there. He gave to the feeble French ministers what their poor souls most needed: *un précédent*. With a King of Belgium giving them the example of duty, they would have been ashamed of themselves—one of them told me so in Bordeaux; they would have gone to North Africa with their fleet, which might have meant victory in 1942. In May and June, 1940, Italians of high moral and political standing entreated the King to oppose the madness of war. He refused to move. He wanted no trouble. He could not bother.

We want, at the head of great peoples like ours, men who are slaves to their duty, not men who refuse to take the trouble.

We want the Italian people to become—when they return to the immortal ideals of Mazzini—the world's herald of international law in the suppression of nationalistic egoism and in the organization of that universal peace which is not a Utopian dream.

We want the Italian people to be the first to give an example of devotion to a superior international ideal by courageously co-operating in the solution of all problems that concern them, with only one condition: that there will be no discussion of Italian problems *per se,* but of Italian aspects of European and world problems.

We want all that because, like Mazzini, we believe in these ideals. But we also know—and why should I hide it?—that the best way to serve even the more specific material interests of Italy is for us to become the champions of a superior international moral law.

We shall be able to do so because the shame and sufferings of the years of fascism have taught my compatriots two supreme truths: that liberty is a right which must be won anew by each generation; that the old anarchical independence of the national States must be subjected to a superior international law, making it impossible for peaceful countries to be again at the mercy of adventurers who, after having first destroyed freedom at home, prepare Satanic aggressions behind the dangerous screen of their closed frontiers.

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THE MISSING ROUND TABLE

A TYPOGRAPHICAL problem caused the omission of the Round Table. Beginning with our January number, we shall change the Caslon type in which FREE WORLD has been printed to the much more legible Baskerville. Thus the need for using up all of the articles that have been set in advance has crowded the popular Round Table from these pages, but it will be found in its usual place in the December issue.

AESOP—FOR OUR TIME

The Eagle and the Arrow

AN eagle soaring through the air was wounded to death by an arrow. He plummeted to earth and there he saw the arrow that had entered his heart. The haft of the arrow had been feathered from his own wings.—MORAL: *We often give our enemies the means for our own destruction.*

SPANISH WOMEN IN PRISON

BY ERNEST SCHEUER

A SPANISH woman in her forties is confined in the Catholic convent, De las Adoratrices, in Gerona. She is a cripple, wears a wooden leg. Once upon a time she eked out her living by knitting hose on a knitting machine. So respected was she that when the Republic came, she was one of the first women called to jury duty. For this "crime" she was sentenced to thirty years.

She is one of 1,700 women, ranging in age from seventeen to seventy, jammed under unspeakable conditions into the ancient three-story building, now converted into a prison. The 1,700 in turn are part of an estimated two million—one-tenth of the entire population—crowding what goes under the name of prisons in Franco Spain.

My wife knows, for she spent a month with them. Crossing the border into Spain, her passport was challenged and she was told she would have to be detained while it was being investigated. It was a cold winter night and she had no idea where she was being taken. Ruined houses lined the streets. Armed sentries mounted guard over the building, where a nun opened a door to receive her.

She threaded her way after the nun, through dark passageways. Finally, they stopped in the middle of a hall. A pallet was brought and put down on the stone flags in the narrow center aisle that had been kept free. This was her place. She received a tin plate. She was dazed by the impressions that flung themselves against her consciousness. The dimly lighted hall was crowded with dark shapes—women with shawls over their shoulders, kerchiefs over their heads, old women and young, sitting, crouching, lying down. A confusion of voices issued from the throng. The very walls seemed covered with dim shapes.

The hall was emptying. Following the crowd, she found herself in a narrow corridor where four hundred women were lining up by twos, each with a tin plate in her hand. Her eyes teared from the smoke that issued from a kitchen. The nun spoke a prayer and four hundred voices mumbled the responses. Then two other nuns dipped ladles into buckets. Her plate, too, was filled with a messy fluid. She followed the women back into the ward.

Una extranjera! The Gerona women's prison had received its first foreign inmate. Word of her arrival had gone around, and she became the object of affectionate, surreptitious concern. A spoon was slipped into her hand. One woman busied herself sewing up her open pallet. Pillows, coats, blankets were stripped from other sparse bedsteads to give her the cover she lacked. At ten o'clock one of the two dim bulbs went out. The floor was covered with a layer of women. Her head lay amid the feet of her neighbors.

After a few days, the crushed straw pallet offered virtually no protection from the damp cold of the unheated stone floor. The rooms were almost never ventilated—the mattresses not at all, since they had to be rolled up early in the morning to serve as seats. There was not a table, bench, or chair anywhere in the building. She found out what it was that covered the walls. The utter absence of any receptacles and the crowded floor space made it necessary to suspend all the pitiful personal possessions from the wall—boxes, baskets, shoes, clothing, plates.

She was to find out many things in the following days:

For the four hundred inmates of the ground floor ward there are two water taps and a single pump in the courtyard. Only hands, feet,

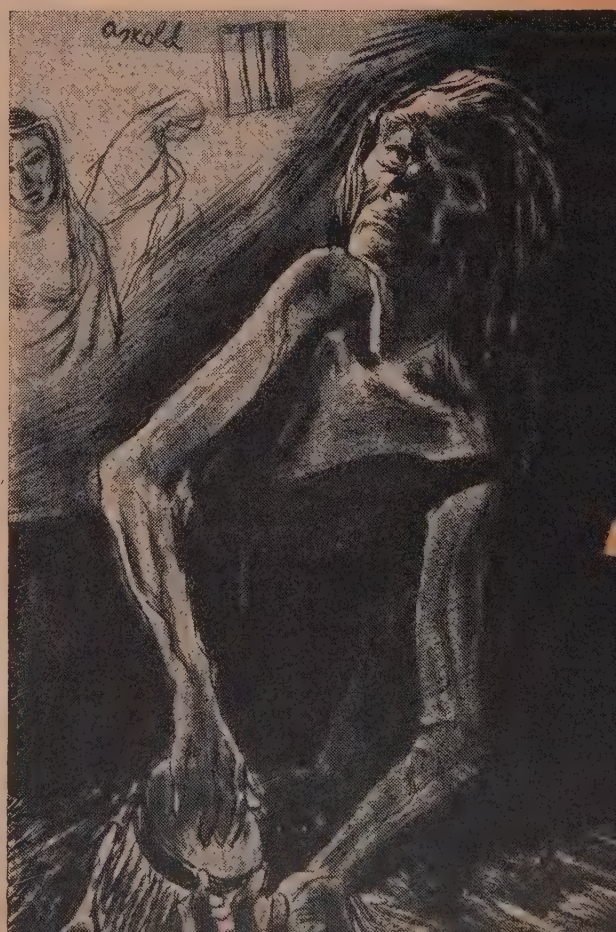
and face can be washed. All closely fitting or abbreviated clothing is forbidden, and there must be no exposure in washing. Some women take buckets of water to the toilets to attempt more thorough washing. Four toilets serve the four hundred women. They are located in a dormitory, separated only by curtains. There is no toilet paper at all—every scrap of paper is precious. All the women must line up for the use of either the toilets or the watertaps. Some sell their bread ration in exchange for soap.

Two sick wards with sixty beds serve all the 1,700 inmates of the prison. Even these wards are unheated. Most of the beds are occupied by aged women who are no longer able to walk. There are a few pregnant women. Only a very few of the actually sick can be accommodated —those who run a raging fever, for example. The rest merely lie on their straw pallets. Little can be done for them because there are virtually no medical supplies. The physician is a prisoner from the men's prison. Even the nurses are prison inmates.

The prison food, called *rancho,* is notorious all over Spain. It consists of three bowls of soup a day. At seven in the morning, there is a thin watery liquid containing a few breadcrumbs. Its only merit is that it is hot—it has no nutritional value whatever. At two in the afternoon and eight at night, there is a more or less thick soup of rice, chick-peas, or cabbage. Every other day, a small, dark, firmly baked loaf of bread, weighing five to seven ounces, is issued. These rations are barely sufficient to keep the inmates from starving. Those who subsist on them alone—and they constitute the majority—suffer perpetually from hunger. True, it is possible to alleviate this suffering with money or food sent from the outside, but the relatives of most of the prisoners have nothing themselves. Bread cannot be bought at the prison canteen. A pound of fruit costs about one and a half pesetas, the value of one bread ration. Money orders from home seldom exceed five pesetas.

Some of the women become emaciated and contract stomach ailments; others are bloated by the innutritious diet. Menstruation ceases. Many suffer from obstinate skin diseases and open sores that refuse to heal. In the morning, there is always a long line before the dispensary. The general feeling is one of debility, reluctance to the slightest physical exertion. Even in the coldest weather most of the inmates are infested with vermin, and much time is spent in a futile search and extermination of them.

About one hundred of the inmates are assigned official duties in the prison. They are selected only from among those sentenced to no more than "twelve years and a day." By working as nurses, kitchen helpers, and charwomen, they may cut their sentences by half. As for the rest, they are thrown on their own devices to occupy the dreary months and years. In fair weather they are permitted in the courtyard in the mornings and afternoons, and the press there is almost as great as in the sleeping wards. Many of the women do sewing and other handiwork, but many more cannot do so because they lack the money to buy the necessary materials. Some purchase from the nuns for two and a half pesetas each the bags in which the chick-peas are delivered. They unravel the threads and fashion these into artistic belts. Old peasant women spin crude sheep wool on primitive spindles. Some women get orders through their relatives on the outside and, by knitting gloves, shawls, and sweaters, earn a little money for food. Many of the workers are unusually skillful. From the most primitive



materials they fashion articles that are a sheer delight to behold—animals, flowers, dolls, and doll houses. They are seized by a passion for their work, stopping only when the light fades or on Sundays, when work is forbidden. Then they play cards or a popular dice game.

On Sunday morning, mass is celebrated in one of the largest halls in the building, fitted out as a church. Thursday afternoon the priest delivers a religious lecture. Every noon, before receiving their food, the women are required to sing two fascist hymns with upraised arms. At dusk there is praying with the rosary.

Only illiterates have an opportunity for study. They receive instruction every morning by prison inmates who used to be teachers. Most of the students are eager to learn to write in order to be able to correspond with their relatives on the outside or in other prisons —there is a lively exchange of correspondence between prisons. There is no library although there are a few elementary school texts.

There is a prison newspaper, *La Redencion,* published weekly for the prison population all over Spain and also sold in the streets, since every family has at least one member in prison. The subscription is two pesetas a quarter, and there is a strong inducement to subscribe, for subscribers may write two letters a week instead of one and receive visitors six times a month instead of four times. The newspaper prints prison news; in praise of the *Caudillo* (General Franco), the church, and the Axis Powers; and the communiqués of the belligerent nations. Interest in the paper is slight, for most of the readers are certain that the British communiqués are garbled. For news they prefer to depend on the foreign radio reports whispered to them during the ten-minute visiting time. They keep up their courage and bear their hardships with relative equanimity, because they refuse to believe that they will have to finish their absurdly long sentences. They all hope for a swift political change, for the victory of the Allies and the defeat of fascism, which will bring them freedom. News of the Italian defeat in Africa unleashed a fire of enthusiasm. The women actually began to lay plans for their life after liberation.

II

NONE of the women in the Gerona prison are criminals in the ordinary sense of the word —or, indeed, in any sense of the word. They are "political" prisoners, sentenced by courts-martial and placed in the care of the nuns for the most trifling reasons. Few, if any, participated in the armed struggle of the lawful Republican Government against the fascist rebels and their German and Italian allies. Many did no more than perform their customary functions as teachers or nurses, or tend their menfolk in the age-old way of women. The majority are between twenty-three and forty-five years in age. There are about one hundred young girls, who were children during the war. Old women, grandmothers, most of them, fill two large dormitories. A few young women have their babies with them.

They come from every part of Spain—clean, hard-working Catalans who resemble the Southern French; volatile and skillful Madrilenos, factory workers in the main, whose sufferings were particularly severe; Asturian miners' wives, hard women, grave and always ready to aid; Andalusians of almost African complexion, who sing more and work less than the others and who never tire of combing their brilliant black hair.

Many of them have passed through a number of other prisons before coming to Gerona. They consider themselves fortunate, for here,

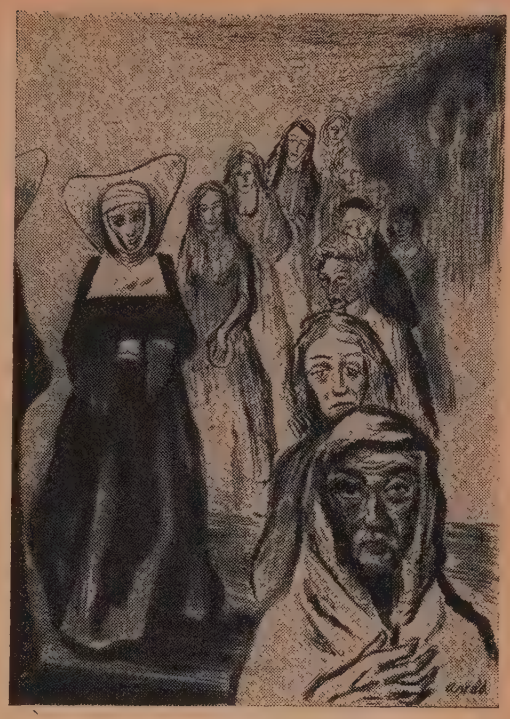
at least, they are left alone—their cases are settled. They shudder as they tell of other hell-holes where they were mistreated and bestially beaten, their hair shaved, their teeth knocked out. They knew women who had been under sentence of death for many months. They heard them taken away in the night, heard their screams, heard the crack of the firing-squad. They tell of many of the victims. It might have happened to any of them. Instead they are buried in the convent, De las Adoratrices, cast out from human society, doomed to wither in captivity—young women deprived of liberty for as long as thirty years, older women destined to become toothless crones, aged women consigned to death.

A few brief case records will serve to illustrate the insensate fury triumphant fascism has visited on its humblest adversaries. The crime of one inmate, a woman of fifty afflicted with heart disease, was that her husband had been prison director in Gerona. For that, both of them got twelve years. Another woman had shared janitorial duties with her husband in this very convent, when it was a "Red" army hospital. The penalty—sixteen years. Two seventeen-year-old girls are the only survivors of a group of seventeen that did auxiliary duty behind the Madrid front. The rest were shot. Two sisters in their late thirties, servant girls who returned from France at the end of the war, were sentenced to thirty years because their brother, a Catalan anarchist, escaped to France. They are illiterate and still fail to grasp what has happened to them. They are favorites of the nuns, to whom they give their wonted servitude.

Many of the women are expiating the "sins," or even the very existence, of Republican husbands and relatives. Others are unfortunates who were orphaned or deserted in the war and in desperation became camp-followers. Still others are the victims of spiteful denunciations.

One old peasant woman who had been in the habit of bringing her milk to market every morning on the back of a donkey was denounced for having tied a red ribbon into the donkey's mane. She is one of the few still awaiting trial. "It was the donkey that wore the ribbon, not I," she repeats over and over again. Another young woman was sentenced to twelve years because she was alleged to have participated in a socialist parade years ago.

The world was passionately aroused by the war in Spain—a war that cost a million and a half victims, not counting the tens of thousands executed by Franco since its end. The world knows that Spain is starving, that Spanish prisons are still filled to the bursting point three years after the war ended. But does the world know that hundreds of thousands of women—simple, decent Spanish women—live under such conditions as have been here described?



Sometimes the despair of these women bursts all bounds. There was an Asturian woman in her forties who had been lined up against a wall twice, together with her sixteen-year-old son and fourteen-year-old daughter. They had refused to tell where their father was—because they did not know. The boy was shot down before his mother's eyes, the girl raped, only to die of her injuries. The woman herself was sentenced to sixteen years.

All this she shrieked out on Christmas Day, ending in the pitiful cry: *"Injusticia! Injusticia!"*

The nuns came padding on their soft felt soles, but she refused to accept anything at the hands of the sinister black figures, fearing that she would be poisoned. Not until the nuns had retired and a fellow prisoner, a nurse, gave her some milk, did she calm down.

"Injusticia! Injusticia!"

TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT

OF THE

AXIS WAR CRIMINALS

by Sheldon Glueck

THE increasing terrorism in occupied countries by which the Nazis are desperately seeking to stifle every sign of revolt has raised the question of the trial and punishment of the Axis war criminals. President Roosevelt's forthright warnings of August 21 and October 7, 1942, to the Axis Powers that their war criminals will be held to strict accountability for their barbaric offenses in Europe and Asia reflect the attitude of the United Nations, and the statement of Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov indicates that action may not be long delayed.

This is in marked contrast to the tragi-comic betrayal of justice after the first World War. The history of the action taken against the Axis criminals under the Treaty of Versailles should serve as a warning of what must *not* happen again and as a basis for a realistic and just program which must be ready and agreed upon by the Allies as soon as possible.

On January 25, 1919, the Preliminary Peace Conference of World War I set up a Commission of Fifteen to inquire into and report upon violations of international law chargeable to Germany and her allies. It appointed subcommissions to establish the facts regarding culpable conduct in the course of hostilities, to consider whether prosecution for such offenses could be instituted, and to indicate the persons deemed guilty as well as the court in which they should be tried. The Commission summarized, as follows, memoranda submitted by the various Allied Governments, giving long lists of "breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea, and in the air":

> Murders and massacres, tortures, shields formed of living human beings, collective penalties, the arrest and execution of hostages, the requisitioning of services for military purposes, the arbitrary destruction of public and private property, the aerial bombardment of open towns without there being any regular siege, the destruction of merchant ships without previous visit and without any precautions for the safety of passengers and crew, the massacre of prisoners, attacks on hospital ships, the poisoning of springs and of wells, outrages and profanations without regard for religion or the honor of the individuals, the issue of counterfeit money, . . . the methodical and deliberate destruction of industries with no other object than to promote German economic supremacy after the war, constitute the most striking list of crimes that has ever been drawn up to the eternal shame of those who committed them.

Not the most striking list, since the Nazis and Japanese and Italian Fascists have improved on the foregoing, as may be seen in the recently published "Black Book of Poland."

The Commission recommended the setting up of a special commission to collect and classify systematically the information at hand or to be obtained, "in order to prepare as complete a list of facts as possible concerning the violations of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and its Allies." Speaking of liability, the Commission was of opinion that "in the hierarchy of persons in authority, there is no reason why rank, however exalted, should in any circumstances protect the holder of it from responsibility when that responsibility has been established before a properly constituted tribunal." It expressly insisted that "all persons belonging to enemy countries, however high their position may have been, without distinction of rank, including chiefs of states, who have been guilty of offences against the law and customs of war or the laws of humanity are liable to criminal prosecution."

How, under Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles, "William II of Hohenzollern,

formerly German Emperor," was "publicly arraigned" for a "supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," to be tried before a specially constituted tribunal; how the Government of The Netherlands, acting within its legal rights, refused to surrender the Squire of Doorn; and how a distinguished bearded exile spent the rest of a long and prosperous life as the world's most illustrious wood-chopper—all this is well known. Not so well remembered is the tipsy dance of the blindfolded goddess with those malefactors less exalted than "William II of Hohenzollern."

The Commission recognized that under international law a belligerent may try persons charged with crimes constituting violations of the laws and customs of war, once the accused are within its power, and may for this purpose set up its appropriate military or civil tribunals and employ its own trial procedure. But four classes of charges seemed to the Commission to call for trial before an *international* tribunal: (a) offenses against civilians and soldiers of several Allied nations, such as outrages committed in prison camps housing prisoners of war of several countries; (b) offenses by "persons of authority" whose orders were "executed not only in one area or on one battle front, but affected the conduct of operations against several of the Allied armies"; (c) offenses by civil or military authorities, "without distinction of rank, who ordered, or abstained from preventing, violations of the laws or customs of war"; (d) charges against "such other persons belonging to enemy countries as, having regard to the character of the offence or the law of any belligerent country, it may be considered advisable not to proceed before a court other than the High Tribunal."

To conduct the trials in these four classes of cases, the Commission recommended the setting up of this High Tribunal, to be composed of three members appointed by each of the five chief Allied Governments, and one by each of the Governments of the lesser powers. This court was to apply "the principles of the law of nations as they result from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity and from the dictates of public conscience." It was empowered to determine its own procedure. Upon a finding of guilty, it could sentence to such punishment as could be imposed for the offence in question "by any court in any country represented on the tribunal or in the country of the convicted person." Selection of cases for trial and direction of prosecutions were to be left to a five-member Prosecuting Commission to be appointed by the great powers; their assistants, by the others. Conviction before an enemy court was to be no bar to trial and sentence by either the High Tribunal or a national court of one of the Allied Powers.

These, in brief, were the relevant recommendations of the "Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties" to the Preliminary Peace Conference. They were, however, not adopted. In a memorandum of reservations the representatives of the United States differed from their colleagues in the means of accomplishing the common desire. In respect to the law to be applied, they pointed out that "the laws and customs of war are a standard certain, to be found in books of authority and in the practice of nations. The laws and principles of humanity vary with the individual, which, if for no other reason, should exclude them from consideration in a court of justice, especially one charged with the administration of criminal law."

In the Americans' opinion, the international tribunal, if established, "should be formed by the union of existing national military tribunals or commissions of admitted competence in the premises." Furthermore, the American members refused their assent "to the unprecedented proposal of creating an international criminal tribunal" as well as to the "doctrine of negative criminality" (i. e., criminal responsibility for failure to prevent violations of laws and customs of war and of humanity). The Japanese on the Commission also had reservations. They raised the question, among others, "whether international law recognizes a penal law as applicable to those who are guilty." And it seemed to them "important to consider the consequences which would be created in the history of international law by the prosecution for breaches of the laws and customs of war of enemy heads of States before a tribunal constituted by the opposite party." Farsighted, the Japanese!

And so, instead of the majority views of the Commission prevailing, there were inserted in the Treaty of Versailles the now almost completely forgotten Articles 228, 229, and 230. By Article 228 the defeated German government recognized "the right of the Allied and

Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war." The German Government was to "hand over" to one or all of the Allied and Associated Powers all such accused who were to be specified by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities; and the guilty were to be "sentenced to punishments laid down by law." Article 229 provided for the trial of the accused before military tribunals of the power against whose nationals the crimes were allegedly committed; and specified that "in every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel." By Article 230 the German Government undertook "to furnish all documents and information of every kind," the production of which might "be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders, and the just appreciation of responsibility."

So far so good. The malefactors were to be tried.

Thus ends the first chapter.

II

In pursuance of Article 228, long lists of accused persons were prepared by the principal Allied Governments, from which a joint list was compiled and presented to the Germans on February 3, 1920, with the reservation that it did not comprise "all the authors of the innumerable crimes committed during the course of the war by the Germans." The list contained almost 900 names.

France demanded the surrender of 334 persons, among them General Stenger, commander of the 58th Brigade and alleged author of the following orders dated August 26, 1914: "(a) Beginning with today, no more prisoners will be taken. All prisoners, whether wounded or not, must be destroyed; (b) All prisoners will be massacred; the wounded, whether armed or not, massacred; even men captured in large organized units will be massacred. Behind us, no enemy must remain alive." Numerous other high-ranking officers were requested for extradition on a wide variety of charges, among them the Imperial Crown Prince, Count Bismarck, grandson of the Chancellor, and Marshal von Hindenburg.

The British claimed 100 Germans for trial, among them Grand Admiral von Tirpitz and Admiral Scheer, for having ordered limitless submarine warfare, and some twenty former commandants of German prison camps, for excessive cruelty. Belgium called for delivery of 265 Germans, including Ex-Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, for the attack on Belgian sovereignty. Poland, Rumania, Italy, and Yugoslavia also demanded the surrender of various offenders.

Though in signing the Peace Treaty the Germans had solemnly obligated themselves to deliver up the accused for trial, they soon reneged. Baron von Lersner, President of the German Peace Delegation, informed the Allied diplomats that a political and economic revolution would rend Germany and topple the entire peace structure if the extradition request were pressed. He returned Millerand's note containing the list of the accused. He then resigned. In an article he wrote later for the archives of German history, von Lersner closes the account of his protest on a triumphant Wagnerian trumpet note: "This first great demand which the Entente Government imposed on us by virtue of the *Diktat von Versailles* was shattered, like glass upon a stone, against the unity of the German people."

But four days after von Lersner's defiant reply, Millerand bounced back the list of accused to the new Chancellor of the German Republic, with the politely ironical comment: "The Powers have no doubt that M. Lersner's act was only a personal manifestation, not engaging the responsibility of the German Government. They have been unable to believe that in effect the latter is avoiding an obligation which it contracted in signing the Treaty of Versailles; . . . less than a month after the Treaty has gone into effect, it refuses, of set purpose, to execute an essential stipulation."

On January 25, 1920, Germany had proposed, by way of "compromise," that all persons accused by the Allies of war crimes and misdemeanors should be tried before the Supreme Court of the Reich at Leipzig. "To this end Germany would make all conceivable guarantees for the impartial and firm execution of the proceedings, especially through the assistance of official representatives of the interested opposition States." As "new evidence of its earnest will to punish Germans guilty of a war crime or misdemeanor," it made known that on December 13, 1919, it had brought about the passage of a law for the prosecution of war offenders.

The Allies accepted the suggestion but without consenting to participate in the trials, "so as to leave full and complete responsibility with the German Government." They reminded Germany that the proposed trials at Leipzig could "in no case annul the dispositions of articles 228 to 230 of the Treaty"; and they expressly reserved the right to consider, as a result of these prosecutions, whether the German Government were sincerely resolved to administer justice in good faith. If not satisfield, they would exercise the right to try the accused before their own tribunals, a right which the Germans acknowledged in their letter of reply.

On May 7, 1920, a sample "abridged list" of war criminals was delivered to the German Government for trial before the Supreme Court at Leipzig. How abridged this list was can be seen from the fact that while the Allies had cautioned that the 900 accused persons in the original list were themselves only a sample of all the actual offenders, this new "test list" contained only 45 names. To this list the British, for example, contributed only seven names.

But the Germans were not ready for trial even after receiving this abridged list. They informed the Allies that difficulties were being experienced in obtaining evidence against the accused, because much of the necessary information was in possession of the Allied Governments. The Allies then arranged to assemble statements of the evidence against the persons on the abridged list and transmit them to the *Oberreichsanwalt* (public prosecutor) in Leipzig. They prepared the evidence with commendable care. Preliminary examinations were made in France and Belgium; depositions were taken in London; witnesses were collected from across the seas and brought to Leipzig.

Thus ends the second chapter.

III

THE trial of the war criminals accused by the Allies at long last began in Leipzig on May 23, 1921, *two-and-a-half years* after the fateful November 11, 1918, which had closed the war to make the world safe for democracy. Instead of the seven defendants selected with such great care by the British, only *four* were tried. The Germans were not in a position to bring U-boat Commander Patzig to trial, because, although he had an address in Danzig, his then whereabouts were unknown. Lieut.-Commander Werner could regrettably not be traced at all; and Trinke was unfortunately now resident in Poland. However, Lieuts. Ludwig Dithmar and John Boldt were put on trial, on the initiative of the German Government (which evidently desired to clarify the law regarding "superior orders"), in connection with the *Llandovery Castle* atrocity for which Commander Patzig was not available—the sinking without warning of a British hospital ship and the firing on and sinking of the lifeboats containing the survivors, thereby converting them into death boats to the score of 234 persons. The Criminal Senate of the Imperial Court of Justice, before which the accused were tried, consisted of seven German judges. They had a most unenviable duty to perform, not made easier by the truculent chauvinism of the military caste. A typical sample of the nature of the judicial reasoning at the Leipzig trials appeared in the case of Capt. Emil Müller who was charged with maintaining atrociously bad conditions in a prison camp from which hundreds of prisoners died, and with inflicting terrible cruelties on numerous prisoners. Despite numerous British witnesses to the contrary, the court found that the prison atrocities occurred after Müller was no longer in charge of the camp; hence he was not responsible. On some of the charges of personal brutality, however, the court found Müller guilty. While finding that the English prisoners unfairly had a "preconceived idea that the accused was animated by feelings of spiteful malignity toward them," the court went on to find that "instead of earning the prisoners' confidence," the Captain somehow "got a reputation among them for being a tyrant and a nigger-driver."

Among the numerous instances of Müller's brutality found by the court to have been proved were, in its own words, the following:

> The accused admits that he liked, as soon as he appeared at roll-call, to ride quickly up to the ranks. He thought this was a suitable way of ensuring proper respect for himself and of making the prisoners attentive. According to the evidence of almost all the English, and also of some of the German witnesses, he frequently rode so far into the ranks that they were broken. The prisoners scattered on all sides and many who could not get out of the way quickly enough were thrown down by the

horse. Such excesses when riding up to a body of men are altogether contrary to regulations and are to be condemned.

The accused while on horseback struck a prisoner who was suffering from a bad foot. At roll-call this prisoner had raised his leg to show it to the accused, but the accused hit him across his leg with his riding cane. The man cried out, fell down and had to be carried into the barracks. . . .

The accused once struck Drewcock at roll-call . . . across his wounded knee with his riding cane so hard that an abscess developed and later had to be cut. The accused could not have foreseen this, for the wounds on Drewcock's knee were not visible to him. But the blow must have been a heavy one. . . .

According to the statement of the witness Lovegrove, the accused once saw two sick men lying down; they were so weak that they could not stand up before him and were groaning pitifully. But the accused is said to have got angry and impatient and to have kicked them. There is a possibility that the accused did not wish to hurt the men, whose sickness he apparently did not yet believe to be real, but that he only wished to secure that his order to get up was immediately obeyed. It is not clear that the kicking was particularly violent or painful. Clearly, however, in each instance this constituted a treatment of the sick contrary to regulations.

There has been an accumulation of offences which show an almost habitually harsh and contemptuous, and even a frankly brutal, treatment of prisoners entrusted to his care. His conduct has sometimes been unworthy of a human being.

The court expressed its conviction that such conduct "dishonors the German Army." However, the very same paragraph of its opinion which ends with that statement, *begins* with this: "It must be emphasized that the accused has not acted dishonorably; that is to say, his honor both as a citizen and as an officer remains untarnished."

The defendant was held liable to punishment for crimes under the German Military Penal Code and the Imperial Penal Code; and for the sixteen offenses in which it found him guilty, the court imposed a total sentence of six months' imprisonment.

Summarizing the outcome of the Leipzig trials, we get the following results:

Number accused in original Allied list	850-900
Number included on abridged "test" list	45
Number actually tried (British charges—including 2 by Germans, 6; French, 5; Belgian, 1)	12
Number actually convicted (British-German charges, 5; French, 1; Belgian, 0)	6

Thus, the sentences imposed included: on British charges, two of six months and one of ten; on German charges, two of four years; and on French charges, one of two years. The French case involved a German major, convicted on charges of killing wounded French war prisoners and found guilty of homicide by negligence in misinterpreting General Stenger's actual orders. Stenger himself was acquitted despite much evidence by German witnesses that he did order the massacre of wounded war prisoners.

I understand that in December, 1922, the Leipzig Court decided to continue with more trials despite the absence of Allied observers disappointed at the outcome of the above cases; and that of over 90 accused in a new batch, there was not even a public trial in the vast majority and only six were convicted, the others getting off on the ground that their offenses were not covered by German law. I have been unable to locate a record of these later trials.

Thus ends the third chapter.

IV

"SAD stupefaction seized French public opinion." The French Mission was recalled, vigorous protests were addressed to the German Government by the French and Belgians, who determined to withdraw the documents of accusation and proof. The accusations by the Italians seem to have been as much disregarded as Il Duce's phantom claim to equal partnership in the Axis.

In January, 1922, a Commission of Allied jurists set up to inquire into this comedy of errors unanimously recommended to the Supreme Council that it was useless to let the Leipzig court continue. It recommended that no new cases be sent to Leipzig and that the German Government be compelled to hand over accused persons for trial by the Allies in pursuance of Article 228. This only resulted in great indignation in Germany and in "looking toward England" in order to divide the

Allies. Chauvinistic groups organized truculent protest meetings throughout Germany, at which high-ranking officers reminded the Allies that "250,000 national soldiers and the police of the *Reichswehr* are in alliance" to prevent the handing over of Germans to the "justice of the Entente."

In August, 1922, Poincaré, on behalf of the Conference of Ambassadors, vigorously protested to the German Ambassador that the German Government "has not kept its promise to administer justice objectively and loyally," and that the Allies would "completely disregard the German proceedings taken by the Leipzig Court against future defendants," and would "resume and reserve to themselves all rights belonging to them by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles at present and in the future, in particular the right to prosecute the war criminals themselves, if necessary *in absentia*." The Germans were indignant that "leading German personalities [among others, von Hindenburg] continued to run the risk, if they stepped foot on French or Belgian soil, of being arrested and sentenced."

An item in the *Journal de Droit International,* shortly after his imprisonment, carried the following tidings concerning one of the two officers who received the heaviest sentences for U-boat atrocities:

> The correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in Berlin telegraphed, on Nov. 20, 1921:
>
> "Mystery still surrounds the circumstances of the escape of Lieut. Boldt, submarine commander, sentenced to four years' imprisonment by the tribunal at Leipzig for having torpedoed a hospital-ship. Lieut. Boldt escaped from the Holstenplatz house of detention at Hamburg. This prison serves only for those accused, and never for the convicted.
>
> "The director of the prison declared that Boldt had been authorized to wear civilian clothes. He had a private room and could communicate with the outside. At 3:30 a check-up established his presence; at 4:45 he had disappeared. The director of the prison believes that Boldt succeeded in reaching, by means of the ventilator shaft, a wing of the prison under repair. It is supposed that he passed, unnoticed, among the workmen.
>
> "The police bloodhounds put on the trail lost the scent almost immediately. It is believed that Lieut. Boldt had prepared his escape for a long time and that his accessories, who had waited for him in an automobile, helped him to cross the Dutch frontier."

The other prisoner convicted of U-boat atrocities also somehow mysteriously escaped.

And thus ends the last chapter.

V

WHAT can be done to ensure justice when the present war is over? The problem is highly complex. Our aims are to see that the Nazis and Fascists do not again lead us around by the nose; to see that vigorous but fair justice is administered; to draw as much insurance as we possibly can against future aggressions and violations of the laws and customs of war through the deterrent effect of punishment; to recognize at the same time that many of the doers of the dark deeds involved are themselves unwilling victims of systems of enslavement and that reform through correction and education must not be excluded as one of the instruments of justice; to establish a vital symbol of the existence of international law; to separate the masses of the Axis lands from their rulers and military castes as soon as possible; and, withal, to take account of the understandable cry for vengeance on the part of the millions of victims of the nazi-fascist brutalities.

Let it be admitted at once that a large measure of success in all these enterprises cannot be hoped for. The following ten-point program is suggested as a means of insuring reasonable success:

1. *Tactics.* The provisions for the trial and punishment of the Axis war criminals must be made part and parcel of the Armistice terms as well as the Treaty of Peace. This will compel the defeated Axis nations to surrender for trial their chief war criminals as well as civilian violators of civilized criminal law, as a prerequisite to cessation of hostilities. Any amnesty granted by the Axis Governments or their immediate successors should not be recognized by the United Nations.

2. *Proof of guilt.* A list of accused persons and relevant data as to the crimes they are charged with (e. g., murder of hostages or war prisoners, torpedoing of hospital ships, forcing civilians into slavery, rapes, thefts, pillagings, etc.) should be kept now and be added to as detailed information is received. In fact, indictments can be drawn up now against the major offenders. Evidence of crimes ought to be assembled and conserved for purposes of later trials. This ought to include military and

civilian orders found in captured headquarters and civilian archives, or on prisoners of war, or on the bodies of Axis soldiers. One of the Armistice conditions ought to require the turning over of archives, military and civilian records, and other sources of proof to the United Nations; and destruction of such records to hamper prosecution ought to be severely punished.

3. *Jurisdiction.* National civilian and military courts of the countries overrun by the Axis Powers can and should try and punish most of the offenders for crimes committed on their own territory, by means of their own law and procedure. This applies especially to the Quislings, Lavals, and Doriots, and members of the Gestapo. However, because of the "territorial theory" of jurisdiction prevailing in some of the countries involved*, such disposition will leave untouched the numerous crimes committed by Axis nationals on their own territory, such as the torturing and slaying of American prisoners of war by the Japanese in Japan, or the cruelties committed by the Nazis in concentration camps inside Germany.

4. *An International Criminal Court.* A court formed by the union of existing national military tribunals or commissions can be rapidly established; but it is desirable, in the interest of an early return to peace, that a non-military International Criminal Court be established. Not only jurisdictional limitations of certain national courts, but a better reason calls for the early establishment of such a court. It is urgently required, also, as a vital and vivid symbol of the more orderly, civilized, and just intercourse among nations that we all hope to see developed after this war. The court should not be confined in jurisdiction to crimes committed on Axis territory. It should be given cognizance also of (a) crimes committed by heads of enemy states, prominent military and naval officials, and civilian authorities who had been empowered to frame major policies and to exercise the widest discretion; (b) offenses committed against nationals of several countries in combination; (c) those committed against the "stateless" and persons who cannot prove their exact nationality; (d) cases which an injured nation prefers not to try in its own courts.

Establishment of the International Criminal Court ought not to wait upon the cessation of hostilities. The court should be set up and staffed and begin its preliminary labors of organization, appointment of personnel, drafting of rules, as soon as possible; so that by the time of the Armistice it can function smoothly and expeditiously as a going concern which has already achieved some prestige among the free peoples of the world.

The court ought to be created by agreement among the member-states of the United Nations and such neutral countries as wish to adhere. Provision should be made for the future adherence of the countries now in the Axis if and when they have firmly established civilized standards of government and can give responsible guarantees of civilized justice. Judges could be obtained by the method employed in electing members of the Permanent Court of International Justice or by some other reasonable and equitable plan. There seems to be no good reason why some of the distinguished jurists who have been hounded out of nazi Germany or fascist Italy, France, or Spain should not be eligible for judgeships on the International Criminal Court even before their countries are admitted to the family-circle of nations establishing the court.

While there are numerous complex legal and political problems involved in the creation of an International Criminal Court, we must by all means avoid the hasty conclusion that these cannot be solved. Certainly, the argument that such a court should not be established because it would be "unprecedented" ought nowadays be given short shrift. *All* courts were at one time unprecedented, including the Permanent Court of International Justice. Considering the shrinkage of the globe in our day to such narrow dimensions that it is common to fly the Atlantic in a few hours, considering the colossal wastage and carnage of the last and present wars, one must inevitably conclude that more intimate co-operation among nations and the effective enforcement of international justice are the only protections against the suicide of the human race. And no symbol and instrument of closer co-operation of nations would be more powerful than an International Criminal Court, performing its duties fearlessly and with a scrupulous regard for justice and fair play.

5. *Law to be applied.* The International Criminal Court ought as soon as possible to be supplied with a code of international criminal law, defining the crimes and limiting the punishments (based largely on the prohibitions contained in international conventions and customary law), so as to preclude arguments regarding "retrospective legislation." But even in the absence of a formal code, the court could legitimately apply the relevant national law—both of the victim

*In some European states, jurisdiction may be based on the principle of "passive nationality," under which it is enough if the victim of the crime was a national of the prosecuting state, no matter where the crime was committed.

and the defendant (particularly in respect to punishments)—and customary and conventional international law (particularly the Geneva Convention of 1929, governing the treatment of prisoners of war, and the Fourth Hague Convention, 1907, with its annexed regulations governing abuses of warfare on land). There is hardly a single line in the solemn conventions by which Germany, Italy, and Japan are bound, that has not been violated by them on numerous occasions in the present war.

6. *Re-examination of legal doctrines.* The prevailing majority view is that there is no such thing as the responsibility of individual persons for violations of treaty provisions, inasmuch as it is the "high contracting parties" and not their individual nationals whom a treaty obligates. According to this theory, the only way a state can prosecute for acts by individuals violative of treaty obligations is by enacting legislation making such acts crimes under its domestic law. This theory which limits responsibility for violations of treaty obligations to sovereign states can well stand modification in this day when the consequences of violations of such rules as those annexed to the Hague Convention can be so disastrous to the civilized world. It can be confidently insisted that the arguments in favor of personal liability are just as convincing as, and much more realistic than, those maintaining the traditional position. Citizens of the Axis powers enjoy the protections of such regulations since the United Nations regard themselves as obligated. Why, then, should they not be tried and punished for their violations because of the theory that it is their governments, and not they themselves, who have committed them? It has been well put in a nutshell: "The duties and rights of States are all merely the duties and rights of the men who compose them." However, legislation converting violations of such regulations by individuals into crimes is an easy way of getting the desired result.

This could be done either by designating as crimes in themselves the various types of violations by individuals of such provisions as the regulations accompanying the Fourth Hague Convention and affixing appropriate punishments thereto, or by a simple declaration stripping those who violate such rules of the defense of "justification" which they would otherwise have on the ground that the acts they are charged with were lawful because done in the course of lawful war upon an enemy in battle. These acts would then be laid bare as ordinary murder, robbery, burglary, theft, and other traditional crimes. The ironical claim of the Germans both during the last war (particularly after the sinking of the *Lusitania*) and the present one, that *"Krieg ist Krieg"* would thereby be realistically refuted by reminding them that by their own adherence to international agreements they recognized that there are illicit as well as permissible acts of warfare.

Express power is given Congress by the Constitution (Article I, Section 8, Clause 10) "to define and punish . . . offenses against the Law of Nations." The American Basic Field Manual, "Rules of Land Warfare," provides specifically that among the remedies open to an injured belligerent "in the event of clearly established violation of the laws of war," is the "punishment of captured *individual offenders.*"

Outrages by non-military officials, such as Himmler, Goebbels, members of the Gestapo, *Gauleiters,* and so on, could be treated as ordinary crimes for which there is no justification whatsoever, these being clearly violations of the penal codes of the various countries who wish to prosecute.

The legal defense of obedience to "superior orders," conveniently applied by the Leipzig Court to acquit unprincipled military and naval officers, can also be legitimately modified. The doctrine is not without its common sense limits. Certainly, a soldier's committing a homicide in obedience to the military order of his superior ought not to be justifiable if he either knows or has reasonable grounds for knowing that the act ordered is illegal. Admittedly, this may work harshly in the case of the common soldier who is between the Charybdis of defying the order and being instantly disciplined (perhaps shot) and the Scylla of obeying it and being later charged with murder. Sound common sense must however come to the aid of technical principle: the sentence can be individualized to take account of the amount of discretion exercisable by the defendant and the other surrounding circumstances of the crime. Failing some reasonable limitations on the doctrine of superior orders, the absurd Alice-in-Wonderland results of the Leipzig trials are arrived at: All the military and naval personnel—from ordinary soldier or seaman up the hierarchy to von Hindenburg, von Tirpitz, and the German General Staff—could conveniently "pass the buck" to the man higher up; and, by way of ridiculous climax, the men highest up were never tried.

The doctrine that a "chief of state" is immune from trial and punishment no matter how heinous and numerous his crimes requires serious re-examination. A sound argument can be made to the effect that it is a doctrine of municipal law and does not necessarily apply to international law nor to the jurisdiction of the proposed International Criminal Court.

7. *Caption of accused.* The Provost-Marshals divisions of the military forces of the United

Nations should be called upon to furnish police officials and sheriffs for the arrest and detention for trial of accused persons. Extradition treaties should be re-examined now to see that the leaders of the axis-fascist rogues' gallery do not prepare for themselves—against the day of reckoning—comfortable nests of "asylum" as "political prisoners" in certain neutral countries —there to live out their days in comfort.

8. *Prosecution.* A Prosecuting Staff of trained representatives of the various countries establishing the International Criminal Court, as well as a public defender's staff, should be appointed by the court from panels submitted by the chief executives of the countries involved. As is true of all prosecutors, the former will have to exercise some discretion in regard to the nature and number of cases brought to trial. It is a practical impossibility to subject to trial the millions of persons who in one way or another have committed acts contrary to the laws and customs of war. A wise policy will take into account the fact that the common soldier in the Axis countries is virtually a slave. The prosecution and conviction of the leaders and subleaders will probably be enough for the purpose of symbolizing the vindication of law and order in international relations. Moreover, knowledge among the common peoples of the Axis countries that some such line of division will be followed should serve to separate them from their masters and to counteract the recently propagated whine of the Axis leaders that the common people are in the same boat with them. Further, such a policy should help to restrain the not unnatural desire for immediate and wholesale vengeance on the part of the victims of nazi-fascist cruelty.

The procedure in the International Criminal Court ought to consist of a simplified combination of the best features of the Anglo-American and Continental criminal procedure, guaranteeing certain fundamental rights, such as the right of counsel (with a public defender for indigent defendants), the right to call one's own witnesses (including experts) and to cross-examine those of the prosecution, the right to set up any legitimate defenses found in civilized penal codes. Rules of evidence should be simple and should not too greatly stress exclusionary provisions, since the trials are to be before panels of judges trained in evaluation of evidence, rather than before lay juries. Appeals on points of law and on sentences should be permitted to an appellate branch of the court. The chief executives of the nations represented on the court should designate persons to serve as a Committee of Pardons and Commutations.

9. *Punishment and correction.* The punishments to be applied by the International Criminal Court should be those provided for similar crimes by the criminal laws of the accusing countries, taking into account legal provisions of the defendants' own countries. Jails, penal and correctional institutions, and reformative and correctional devices and agencies, including probation and parole, as well as hospitals for the criminal insane, should be those normally employed by the country bringing the charges.

10. *Preparation.* A fully implemented program of political policies, international conventions, and appropriate modifications of the criminal law of the various countries co-operating as the United Nations needs to be worked out *now*, in order to give the executives and legislatures of the interested nations ample time to study and debate the necessary conventions setting up the court and providing an international penal code; in order, further, to avoid possible arguments regarding "retroactivity"; and in order, finally, to have the whole scheme and apparatus of criminal justice, including the procedural rules, ready when the war is over. The knowledge that official representatives of the United Nations are working on some such plan should itself have a sobering effect on the Axis criminals and an encouraging one on the rest of the world.

Laval's "Volunteer Labor Corps"

THE NEGRO *Knows* FASCISM

by
Mercer Cook

Not since the Civil War has an armed conflict been fraught with such possibilities of salvation or disaster for the Negro. In his greeting to the Thirty-third Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, President Roosevelt wrote on July 7: "I note with satisfaction that the theme of your significant gathering reads 'Victory is Vital to Minorities.' This theme might well be reversed and given to the nation as a slogan. For, today, as never before, 'Minorities are Vital to Victory.'"

That the potential importance of a minority of thirteen million traditionally loyal, liberty-loving citizens has been recognized in administration circles is readily apparent to anyone who compares, however cursorily, the official status of the Negro in 1917 and in 1942. In World War I, it was only after considerable effort that a single training camp for colored officers was established at Des Moines, Iowa. To prevent the promotion that was rightfully due him, the ranking Negro officer, Colonel Charles Young, was retired on the pretext that he suffered from high blood pressure. The navy admitted colored men only in the most menial capacities, and the Negro marine was as nonexistent as the Negro aviator. One enterprising youth, rejected by our air corps, became a "French" ace and a member of the Legion of Honor. Moreover, the Negro had no official spokesmen. In the War Department, he was represented by a well-meaning, old-school politician, whose status, I understand, was that of Special Clerk.

Today, a courageous and competent Amherst– and Harvard-trained Negro is Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. He is ably assisted by another brilliant young lawyer, a graduate of Northwestern. A Negro Lieutenant-Colonel works with the Selective Service Board. Ranked by a colored Brigadier-General, Negro officers are being trained in various camps. Negro aviation cadets are regularly being commissioned from Tuskegee. The navy has recently let down some of its bars; and, *mirabile dictu,* colored marines are now being recruited.

Some defense industries have been persuaded to employ skilled Negro labor, thanks to the relentless efforts of Dr. Robert Weaver, young Negro economist who has lately been transferred to the War Man Power Board. Facing the almost insurmountable obstacle of prejudiced employers and reactionary labor unions, Dr. Weaver has been powerfully aided by President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee, created by Executive Order 8802. Recently this committee held an epoch-making hearing in Birmingham, Alabama, at which at least one employer engaged in defense production promised to do this patriotic duty and to hire workers without respect to color.

All of this represents appreciable progress and indicates that the Government and a large number of white liberals, Northern and Southern, are determined to give the Negro his chance to fight and work for a free world. Unfortunately, there is another side of the picture, which makes the Negro doubt the sincerity of any movement for a free world, confuses his thinking, and lowers his morale. He reads, for example, that a Negro is lynched in Missouri; that a colored soldier in uniform is killed in Arkansas; that a black man as inoffensive and as cultured as Roland Hayes is beaten by the police in Rome, Georgia. He hears stories like the one about the promoter who allegedly said: "There are no seats for colored patrons, but

you may bring your Japanese friends if you like." He sees men wearing the glorious khaki of the United States Army relegated to Jim Crow cars; aliens employed where black citizens need not apply. If he lives in Georgia, it is difficult for him to see the presidential forest for the gubernatorial trees. Wherever he lives, he is almost certain to meet some unthinking cynical veteran of World War I who will be only too anxious to assure him that this war is but a repetition of the other and will mean just as little to the black man. In all probability his own experience will convince him that the benighted white Southerner was sincere when he said: "I'd rather lose the war than change our racial *status quo.*"

Even without Axis propaganda, these conditions would be serious, not only because they constitute a threat to national unity, but also because they may make the Negro even more Negrocentric than segregation and exploitation have forced him to be. His one great opportunity to ally his cause with that of oppressed minorities the world over may be lost through no fault of his own, except that he did not realize that it was really within his grasp.

One of the amazing paradoxes of this amazing war is that the Axis, despite its notorious racism, has made overtures to the Negro. It was to be expected that the Japanese, a yellow race, would appeal from the beginning to other yellow and brown men. One of the first orders issued by the Japanese after the capture of Manila was directed against white men. American newspapers have told how Nippon has played up the racial solidarity idea in Burma and other parts of the Far East. According to Walter White, the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, within twenty-four hours after the lynching in Sikeston, Missouri, the Japanese radio was broadcasting that tragic episode as an example of American race relations. That Japan should follow this line of propaganda is, as I have stated, entirely understandable. Negroes should be reminded, however, that the Nipponese consider themselves the "Aryans" of the darker races. On the other hand, American newspapers and public speakers would do well to tone down the color motif in referring to our Japanese enemies. After all, there are approximately four hundred million yellow-skinned Chinese on our side.

Handicapped at the outset by the pronouncements of "Aryan" racial superiority in *Mein Kampf,* the Nazis have of necessity followed several detours in their attempt to propagandize the Negro. Both in the French colonies and in the United States, they have tried to rouse the black man against the Jew. *Miroir de la Guadeloupe,* a weekly paper operated by a group of Negroes in Pointe-à-Pitre, published at least one article to justify the anti-Jewish decrees which had just begun to operate in Paris. By the same token, one Negro soap-box orator (now deceased) in Harlem allegedly received money from the Nazis for inciting colored Harlemites against Jewish landlords and merchants on 125th Street. A large apartment house in Harlem was turned over to colored tenants, but the German elevator operator remained behind to tell the Negroes that Hitler was struggling to free them from Semitic economic exploitation.

In one Negro college, a German professor, recently deported, invited Jesse Owens to his class to counteract what he called "the charges of the Jew-financed American press" by informing his students that the Nazis had treated the colored athletes with every consideration during the 1936 Olympics, and that Hitler had not refused to shake the hands of the "Black Auxiliaries." This same professor informed all who would listen to his preaching that "Hitler was the champion of the common

man." Another of his favorite approaches was to remark: "Just see what England has done to the colored man in India and South Africa!" So indiscreet was this instructor in his utterances that he was confined two days after Pearl Harbor.

II

CAPITALIZING on the dissatisfaction of disfranchised and underpaid American Negroes, the Fascists have attempted to convince them that they could be no worse off under a nazi government. Few, if any, responsible Negro leaders swallowed this propaganda, although it did, for a time, muddle the thinking of some. In 1939, for example, with several prominent colored Americans like R. R. Wright, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Countee Cullen, I sponsored a campaign to aid the Senegalese and French West Indian soldiers. The public response was admirable, but one sarcastic columnist in a Negro weekly denounced the movement in two scathing articles. What had France done that made her nobler than Germany? he asked. Why should we aid Senegalese soldiers who were merely helping a white nation to exploit other Africans? Was our love for free France not inspired by the fact that some of us may have flirted with a blonde or two in a Paris *café?* Moreover, he concluded, we should direct our charitable efforts toward the underprivileged Negroes of our own communities—as if we were not already doing so.

Because of the increasing importance of Africa in this war, the Nazis have cleverly postponed the application of Hitler's anti-Negro philosophy in France. In the occupied region, they have enforced their brutal anti-Semitic decrees, but have been surprisingly lenient with colored Frenchmen and have limited their proscriptions to a ban on Negro theatrical performers and the destruction of a monument or two, like the one honoring the contribution to the black French soldier in the first World War.

Negroes are still attending the University of Paris. A soldier from Guadeloupe, demobilized in June, 1940, and about to return to his native island, was convinced that he had nothing to fear from the Nazis and was persuaded to continue his work on the *agrégation* at the Sorbonne. Other colored Frenchmen—some of them married to "Aryans"—have been allowed to remain in business in the Paris area. (As news from Occupied France is rare, and as Hitler is undoubtedly psychopathic, this situation may have changed by the time this article is published.)

Another case in point is that of the French Negro author, René Maran, whose "Batouala" won the Goncourt Prize in 1921. In June, 1940, I received a frantic letter from Maran, who was already in hiding. After one full year of ominous silence, he sent me a book, "Bêtes de la brousse," which had been printed by his regular Paris publishers, Albin Michel. A note on the title page told me that he and his wife were still alive. Presumably they had returned to their old apartment in the Rue Bonaparte!

Obviously Hitler is hoping to use these Negroes to forestall acts like that of brave black Governor Félix Eboué, who was primarily responsible for bringing French Equatorial Africa under the De Gaulle banner. My final example, however, will indicate how little any Negro can expect from the Nazis. When Marshal Pétain took over as much of the Vichy Government as Hitler would allow, he named the Martinique mulatto, Senator Henry Lémery, Minister of Colonies. Although Negroes had served before as under-secretaries on the Rue Oudinot, this was the first time that a colored official had been selected to direct the activities of that critically important department. It seemed to mean that fascism in France would be relatively free from the racial bias that distinguished it in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

I had met Lémery in Paris, where he had become almost completely divorced from racial interests and contacts. His espousal of the Rightist cause had led or misled him to the very doors of the Action Française. He had welcomed Léon Daudet when that worthy was released from prison. On the other hand, in his book, "La Révolution française à la Martinque," he had referred to himself as a *sang-mêlé,* and on a motion picture screen in Fort-de-France, I had heard him state that he was a "descendant of slaves." This admission was obviously designed for domestic political consumption. Knowing this, and notwithstanding his adherence to political theories which I abhorred, I was naïvely Negrocentric enough to be taken in by his elevation to a post in the first Pétain Cabinet.

This illusion was short-lived, however. In a month or two, Pétain reshuffled his Cabinet,

and Lémery disappeared into the oblivion which, as a Negro fascist, he so justly deserved. My Martinique friends assured me that Hitler himself had insisted on Lémery's dismissal; but this was meager consolation. I had nevertheless learned a significant lesson, one that I should like to pass on to my colored congeners of all nationalities: even in France—perhaps the least prejudiced of all the great Democracies—Negroes, no matter how faithfully fascistic their record, face nothing but enslavement under the Nazis.

In the final analysis, fascism is not entirely an unknown phenomenon to the American Negro. He has met it under various guises and a different name. No American can understand its dangers better than he. In him the Free World movement has a natural, an eager, and a courageous ally. The problem is two-fold: we must convince him that the new fascism is far worse than anything even he has ever known; and we must teach his oppressor the meaning of democracy. Executive Order 8802 might well be the first lesson.

AN Inter-American Democratic FRONT

by

Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre

THE world needs for today's war and for tomorrow's peace a powerful, democratic inter-American front. And in order to form it, it is more necessary than ever that the United States should know and understand the political and social facts of Latin America, and the fundamental problems which confront its people.

The idea is current among North Americans, even among those who know us a little, that democracy in Latin America cannot be the same as in the United States and in Great Britain. Those who are of this opinion believe that our republics are not prepared for true democratic government. They doubt that liberty and constitutional rights can be practiced among us as they are in the Anglo-Saxon countries, or as they became possible in France and Belgium, to cite examples of nations called "Latin."

A few days ago, a distinguished English journalist told me that he had heard this same opinion expressed by British and North American residents of Brazil and the Argentine. He manifested great surprise when I answered that, in my opinion, the majority of Anglo-North Americans who live in Latin America are not qualified to express an opinion on the political and social problems of our countries because they always live outside the national atmosphere, because rarely, if ever, do they give sufficient study to our history and psychology in order really to understand them, and because most of the time their opinions are strained through the sieve of what their governments think, or colored by the prejudices of the economic interests which they represent or for which they work.

This fact, let it be said frankly, is true, not only of the British and North American business men who live long years among us like

Robinson Crusoe on his island; it is also frequently the case with Anglo-Saxon diplomats, strangers to Latin Americans and their problems, and imbued only with the unilateral and superficial viewpoint of the governments to which they are accredited, of their spokesmen, and of their press. If we are to speak clearly and sincerely, it is necessary to say that with rare and notable exceptions, business men and diplomats from Britain and North America are the least informed of all foreigners resident in Latin America, in respect to the real political life of the people, and that many times they live for long periods in our countries scarcely knowing the language, shut up in narrow circles of their fellow nationals, and understanding little about the political, social, and cultural life about them.

Contrast this indifferent attitude with that of business men and diplomats of other nations. A German, a Japanese, for example, whether he be attached to an embassy or a legation, or employed by some industrial or commercial enterprise, large or small, will always attach himself to the medium in which he lives, and will always have a clear understanding of the manners and customs of our countries. The truth of this fact is evidenced by the practical political accomplishments of citizens of Axis countries resident in Latin America, their activities, their efficiency, and the popular sympathy which they have achieved in many sections of the population.

It is necessary to point out these things in order to discredit the testimony of those Britains and North Americans resident in our countries who say, with no foundation based on experience, that our people are not ready for democracy, or that democracy can exist there only in a primitive and incipient form. These opinions are naturally reflected in the attitude of great British and North American business enterprises in our countries, as well as in the international policy of the Governments at Washington and London. For both of them, in everything that concerns Latin America, only the official point of view is important. The people do not count. Such business men operating in our countries frequently say, and the great North American and British dailies echo it in print, that they will always approve and justify all acts of Latin American Governments.

When a North American visits England, he does not forget that it is just as important to know what His Majesty's Loyal Opposition says as it is to know what His Majesty's Government says. And when an Englishman interested in the political life of North America visits the United States, he does not forget that there are two important parties which, whether governing or in opposition, reflect the thought of the people. But this does not happen in Latin America, and less so if the opposition is persecuted and considered "communistic" —a frequent device in our countries. It was not long ago that I read in a great New York daily a dispatch from its correspondent in La Paz, Bolivia, which, in reporting the visit of the Chilean politician, Marmaduke Grove, to the Bolivian capital, described him as the "leader of the Chilean Communists." As is well known, Grove is leader of the Socialist party, ex-president of the Republic of Chile, and *not* a Communist. As for myself and the Aprista party, we have frequently been called Communists and "Indianists"—that is to say, proponents of a policy inimical to the white race—enemies of the people of the United States, *etc.* A well-known North American magazine which assumes to be well informed in regard to the political situation in the United States was ignorant of the democratic position of the Aprista party, attacked it stupidly, accused it of disloyalty, and tried to present Aprismo as apostate from its own democratic faith!

II

THUS it is extremely difficult for North American opinion to be truly informed on the real situation in Latin America. And although it is only fair to admit that real efforts have recently been made to mend the errors of the past, it is still a fact that the people of the United States do not know the life and the political and social problems of "that other America." It is interesting, therefore, to refute those who, in England and in North America, believe that the Latin American peoples are not ready for the practice of true democracy. When people say that to me, I reply that in Colombia, in Costa Rica, and in Chile, democracy is as effective as in any Anglo-Saxon country. Uruguay carried out a great democratic experiment for many years, and it was interrupted solely by the fascist influence in Latin America, which brought about a dictatorship. Today the dictatorship appears, fortunately, to be an episode which is not going to repeat itself. The Republic of Argentina, un-

der the government of the Radical Party ("radical" in Spanish does not mean "red," as it does in the United States) lived a truly democratic life; and Brazil, before its present Government, was gradually achieving political stability based on popular sovereignty.

It is not that the Latin American peoples are not ready for democracy, but that many of their governments — recognized, and consequently enjoying the moral and economic support of the United States—influenced by the progress of nazi-fascism in Europe, and encouraged by many business men who in their heart of hearts believe a regime of force more profitable for them, abandon constitutional principles with the support of their country's army. Very rarely is public opinion in the United States ever made aware that a dictatorship has almost never existed in Latin America without some form of support from the outside.

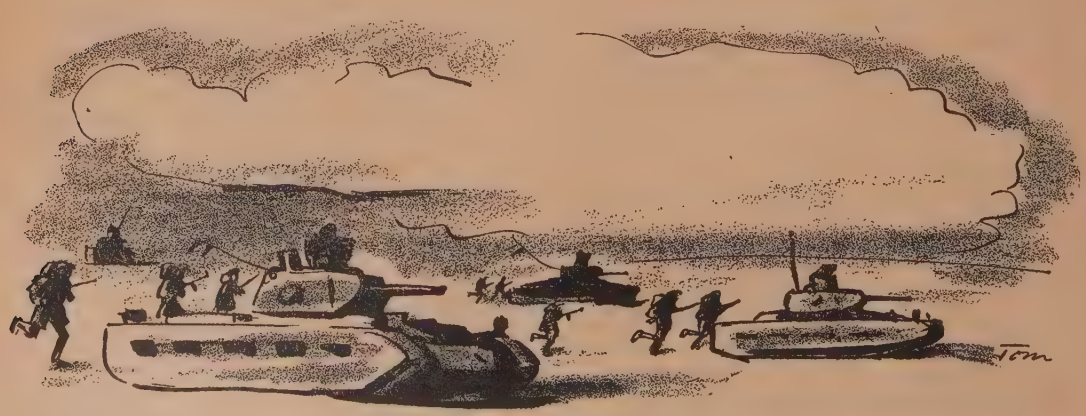
Latin Americans hate dictatorships. They have always been imposed on them by force and at the cost of much blood. If it were possible to cite the case of a single Latin American dictatorship which has not cost the country where it is implanted torrents of blood and much grief, one might affirm that our peoples are not ready for democracy. But most Latin American dictatorships have had as many victims in proportion to the population as nazism in Italy before the war. Nevertheless, while from the United States came forth severe condemnation of dictatorial governments in Europe, not once was an official voice raised in censure of Latin American dictatorships. On the contrary, the best possible relations were and are maintained with them.

This is not a reproach. It is simply pointing to the truth, at a moment like the present when it is only upon the basis of truth that moral standards for democracy can be erected. If the people of the United States continue in ignorance of the real political and social situation of the peoples of Latin America, we shall never be able to mobilize a powerful democratic front for the war of today and the peace of tomorrow.

I could cite many cases of confusion of thought in North America in respect to Latin American governments and their attitude toward democracy. The man in the street in the United States surely believes that all the official declarations of the governments on this side of the Americas against nazi-fascism represent their true attitude. But I could cite cases of dictatorships as cruel in method as those of Hitler and Mussolini, which appear before the eyes of the North American people as loyal allies in the cause of democracy.

The sad fact is that Hitler and Mussolini know very well who their allies are in Latin America. They and their propaganda have carefully refrained from attacking the dictators of this Continent who have broken off relations or have declared war on the Axis. The press of Germany, Italy, and Japan limits itself to affirming that the attitude of the Latin American governments is due to "imperialistic pressure" of the United States. But they do not fail to let their subjects know that on the other side of the Atlantic is a dictatorial totalitarianism which is at heart the ally of European nazi-fascism.

And so it is. And for this reason, if we wish to establish a democratic front of peoples, and not only of governments in Latin America, the people of the United States must know the truth. To say it, is extremely difficult in time of war, but it is also absolutely necessary if we do not wish to deceive ourselves and others.



PROGRESS

in

THE SCIENCES

by

WATSON DAVIS

THE world over science and engineering are mobilized for war. Every nation with any technological basis for industry and other phases of living has diverted its creative and developmental power to enhancing its fighting ability. In America, almost every scientific laboratory, whether in industry, university, or government bureau, has undertaken research problems of direct usefulness to the armed forces or the war industries. Without benefit of uniform, scientists by the thousands are doing war work, much of it secret. Developments of primary fighting weapons are undertaken, but much of the research is aimed at backing up our armed forces, with better airplanes and ships, with medical advances, with raw material advances, with psychological devices, and a dozen other factors in science's armament. England and Soviet Russia have thrown their scientific forces into their total war efforts. China, too, with relatively meager resources, is using its science in the common cause.

The way of science is the way of democracy. Nevertheless, the enemy, the Axis nations, use science and its effective methods. For selfish purposes the dictators and the militarists recognize the usefulness of scientific research in supplying their war machines and developing their propaganda. Understandably, they do not apply the scientific method too far. They are careful to keep from their populations much about what is going on for fear that their slaves might thereby discover the truth from the facts.

Due to the secrecy of much scientific work for war, there is an almost total eclipse of many scientific and technological advances that we know must have been made. The code of wartime practices for the American press issued by the Office of Censorship asks newspapers, magazines, and all other media of publication not to publish, except when such information is made available officially by appropriate authority, "any information about new or secret military designs, formulas, or experiments; secret manufacturing processes or secret factory designs, either for war production or capable of adaption for war production." This covers a very wide range and is subject to broad interpretation. We may thus hope that when a new and potent military weapon is developed by our scientists we shall not know about it until it is in use and the enemy gets the first news delivered by our fighting forces.

We do know that new and valuable aids to the armed forces have been developed through research, much of it beginning in the pre-war years. We know that there are radio means of spotting airplanes. We know that there is a more powerful explosive than TNT. A minute corner of the veil of secrecy is lifted tantalizingly from time to time. We know that about 100,000 suggestions and inventions have been offered to the National Inventors Council by fertile-minded individuals who patriotically wish to help win the war. At least a few of these have been useful.

We see the output of our great factories, old and new, geared to war production, sending forth airplanes, tanks, guns, ships, and other mechanisms of war—all of them created fundamentally through scientific research

and engineering development. We know that if we do not keep up with the brain power of the enemy and surpass it, we shall sacrifice much human life in the process of winning this war for civilization's preservation and betterment.

Science for war, important as it is, must be just a phase in the human struggle for knowledge and understanding of the world around us. Science for war is at best a necessary diversion, at worst a dead hand upon progress that might have been achieved. War may be a catalyst for speedier progress in some fields, such as the physiology of high altitudes, or the surgery of gross wounds, or the welding of steel plates. But it often shrivels untrammeled creative delving into what is so and why, out of which come unexpected fruitfulness of ideas, formulations, and phenomena. In the seemingly chance results of such "pure" research are often found the beginnings of great cures and new industries.

Not all science is war-converted, and there is major progress in many fields that can be mentioned. Pearl Harbor was a sweeping victory for the sulfa drugs. Liberal use of sulfanilamide in treatment of wounds and administration of sulfathiazole by mouth to the wounded gave the most striking record of recovery of the severely wounded that war had ever seen. The sulfa drugs are continuing this record and they are daily saving hundreds of lives throughout the nation.

Chemicals from living germs themselves may soon rival and even surpass the sulfa drugs in disease blasting. From germs living in the earth itself and from common molds, like those that spoil bread, over a dozen new weapons for fighting disease have been obtained. Some of these new chemicals are specialists with respect to what kind of germs they attack. Some kill the germs outright, while others are unable to kill the germs but can stop their growth. Great things are expected of these new chemicals that come from such unpromising sources. Gramicidin is already being used to treat patients and it is the most specific, acting primarily on the tiny round germs labelled gram-positive micrococci (hence its name). Penicillin, also in practical use, is the other most widely known germ chemical. Others bear such names as pyocyanase, tyrothricin, actinomycin, pycanin. Two of the most recently reported are fumigacin from a mold living in the earth and clavacin from a fungus in stable manure. Much more will be heard from this class of chemicals in medicine's fight against disease.

There is another chemical that we shall be hearing more about as time goes on. It is arginine, an amino acid, one of the building blocks of the proteins. Researches suggest that it is a paternity chemical, without which fatherhood is impossible. Arginine is one of the ten essential amino acids found in meat, fish, poultry, eggs, cheese, milk, and some vegetables. Its possible role as a paternity chemical was revealed when young men who volunteered for the task, lived on a diet otherwise adequate but lacking in this chemical. Upon the arginine-free diet, the number of male reproductive cells is reduced and those developed become ineffective. Lysine, another amino acid, may be a maternity chemical since studies show that the female reproductive cycle is upset by lack of lysine.

It may not be necessary to discover the cause of cancer before it can be cured. Researches in recent months have shown that certain types of chemicals interfere with the functioning of the cells of cancer of the breast but do not interfere with the well-being of any other healthy cells. While no chemical cure for cancer has yet been found, if this kind of research, still in the test tube stage, comes to fruition, it may usher in the long-desired conquest of this major disease.

Vitamins continue to play important roles in keeping people healthy and curing disease. One of the latest achievements of vitamin B_1 or thiamin hydrochloride is the relief of severe pain of a "dry socket" after tooth extraction. Injections of the vitamin cause the pain to cease in two-thirds of the cases within about half an hour. In the haystack may be found the life-saving remedy for thrombosis or blood clot and several other diseases of artery hardening. Spoiling of sweet clover produces a chemical, dicoumarin, which reduces the clotting ability of the blood, a property of use in treating conditions that hinge on the clotting of blood. The chemical has now been synthesized, and can be given cheaply by mouth as well as by hypodermic injection. This medical advance is in prospect because observant scientists noted that cattle which ate spoiled sweet clover often died of slight bruises that caused fatal bleeding due to the inability of the blood to clot.

A few years ago Sister Elizabeth Kenny

came from Australia with a treatment for the paralysis of infantile paralysis victims. (Sister is the title given nurses in the British Empire.) It was almost exactly the opposite of the usual treatment. Standard practice was that limbs be immobilized with splints and braces. Sister Kenny substituted carefully guided exercise, starting with hot, moist flannels applied to the painful, contracted muscles. This year she had the satisfaction of seeing her treatment approved by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and put into increasing use upon cases of poliomyelitis in their early stages.

II

SCIENTIFIC progress in other fields has been equally remarkable and useful in the present emergency. For years the length of the waves of visible light seemed to limit the size of what the human eye could see. Then it was found that streams of electrons, which may be considered particles of matter in one aspect and the essence of electricity in another, would act very much like light of very much shorter wave length. It was possible to extend the exploration of the minute reaches of space and make pictures of things that could not be seen with optical microscopes with conventional lenses of the finest sort. Germs turned out to have different structure than was imagined when they were enlarged 20,000 or even 50,000 diameters. Common substances, such as some of the widely used chemicals, were discovered to be very different from the previous conceptions.

The latest electron microscope addition is a scanning device that may make it possible to send electron microscope pictures by television in the future. But that is not its present utilization. The scanning electron microscope, combining the electron microscope, television, and radio facsimile, permits the study of the grain structure of opaque objects, such as metals, to an order of minute detail never before realized. The electron microscope can also be used to peer into the interior of minute objects and determine their molecular structure. In this modification the photograph obtained is not a picture of what the material would look like if we could see such minute objects, but it is a diffraction pattern which allows the physicist to tell how the atoms are arranged in the molecules. Within a few minutes of each other a picture and a diffraction pattern of the same specimen can be made which is a great advantage in many fields of research.

Another improvement on the electron microscope is the production of stereoscopic pictures so that objects can be "seen" with a three-dimensional effect. The trick is to make two pictures from slightly different angles, and these twin pictures can be viewed through a stereoscope, like the parlor diversion of our great-grandmothers' time. In a very different way, electrons of extraordinary speed and energy are being used in the world's most powerful X-ray machines. A special machine called the induced electron accelerator whirls electrons to such high speed that a machine actually in operation produces X-rays of 20 million volts while a new machine is designed for 100 million volt X-rays. A massive concrete building with walls 3 feet thick is necessary to house this powerful machine with safety. It will be used to test armor plate, but the fact that 100 million volt X-rays have the wave length of the weaker cosmic rays causes the speculation that something new about the structure of the universe may be discovered when scientists have had the opportunity of working with such powerful radiation.

Hidden behind the cloak of secrecy that surrounds military research is any progress that is being made on the extraction of power from within the uranium atom through splitting it asunder. From the heavens comes evidence that atomic fission similar to that of uranium 235, on which hopes of atomic power on this earth are based, takes place in the sun's corona, that system of luminous streamers which surrounds the sun and is visible only at a total solar eclipse. Astronomers are busy in the war with research because the same kind of ability that plots the orbit of a comet is useful in computing the trajectory of a bomb. But the patrolling of the skies with telescopes is continuing and this year there has been put into service the second largest telescope in Latin America, a Schmidt type instrument that is more effective for the exploration of the universe of skies and galaxies than more conventional instruments of much larger size. Installed at Mexico's new National Astrophysical Observatory in the ancient valley of Cholula near Puebla, this new instrument is a symbol of inter-American cooperation because it was produced by Har-

vard Observatory for the Mexican Government. In the midst of war, also, there have been announcements of remeasurements of the gravitational constant and the mass of the moon.

The extraction from the sea of magnesium metal, lighter in weight than aluminum and useful in airplane production, is one of chemistry's major achievements and aids to our war effort. Heretofore, this metal had been extracted from the salts of brine wells in Michigan, but chemists turned to the sea to supply even larger quantities. There are about 5,700,000 tons of magnesium in every cubic mile of sea water so this ocean mining is not likely to exhaust the supply very soon.

III

IN a dimmed out and blacked out civilization we are likely to see things that otherwise would not be seen. City dwellers have realized in recent months that they, in effect, have two kinds of eyes. One most useful in bright illumination, and the other that comes into action in darkness. It is not new that the cone cells at the center of the retina do your seeing in daylight, and that at the edge of the retina are rod cones of different shape and different functions which are used in night vision. Airplane spotters, pilots, sentries, and lookouts at sea, as well as civilians in a blackout, use their night vision, and one of the developments of recent months has been the utilization of red instead of blue or other colors in lights that must be used on airplanes, ships, and on streets by night. Night eyes are color blind and red is seen equally well by night and day vision whereas blue light affects night eyes a thousand times as much as day eyes. So in a blacked out world we must become accustomed to a reddish tinge to what we see.

Power is needed in both war and peace and there have been spectacular advances in recent years in the efficiency of power generators. A large steam-turbine plant has attained a thermal efficiency of 33.5 per cent from coal to electrical output, a record for this sort of engine. The engine uses steam at the almost unheard of temperature of 1,000 degrees Fahrenheit and at a pressure of 2,300 pounds per square inch. This steam is nearly 300 degrees above the critical temperature, about 705 degrees, at which steam and water refuse to live together. New alloys that do not become too soft and too plastic at such temperatures made this commercial development possible. While it may have no direct results upon the production of power for the war, there are implications for the future in the giant windmill put into operation on a mountain summit in Vermont 2,000 feet above sea level. As tall as a fifteen story building, it has airplane propeller type blades designed in accordance with the most modern aerodynamic theory.

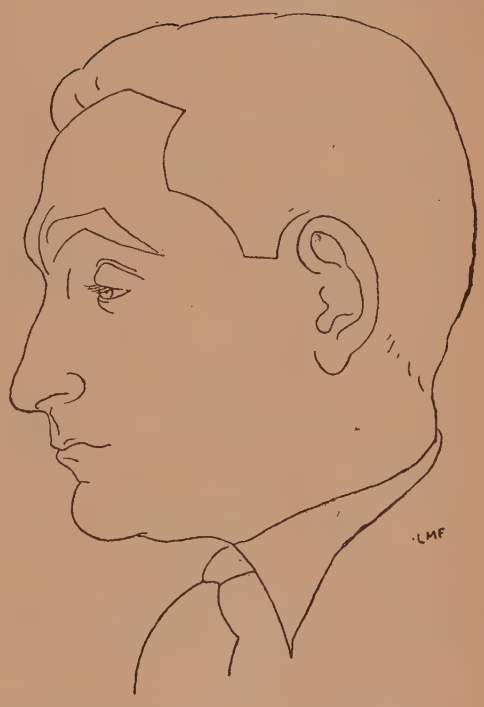
Most of the news of aviation developments comes from the fighting fronts, but for the future jet propulsion and rocket motors may yet play a part in driving airplanes to astounding heights at extraordinary speeds through the stratosphere.

Science is so useful in war and so necessary for peaceful living that there is a growing conviction that there must be continuous and accelerated scientific research, coupled with greater understanding of the methods, possibilities, and results of science and technology. A few years ago physics and mathematics, for instance, were at best optional subjects in our high schools. There were no courses in aeronautics. Today because of the war effort, almost every boy and many girls who are at all capable of mastering these subjects are taking them in order to contribute their maximum to making America strong. There is a growing realization that we must search for, discover, and nurture scientific talent among our growing generation that must contribute in a major way to winning the war and making peace safe for our civilization. Fundamentally, there is no greater shortage in a rationed belt-tightening world than human brains capable of first rescuing our world from ruthless marauders and then restoring a thousandfold the blessings that science can bring to the people.

These benefits of science are not merely the material things produced for fighting and living. They are of the spirit. Using the ways of science there is hope that men will yet understand the ways of men, the insanities of dictators, and the possibility of material and mental satisfaction for everyone on this planet. It is hardly too much to expect that people who launch a ship every few hours and fly away an airplane every few minutes will be defeated by the human factor in the task of setting the world to rights.

A French Trial in 1941

By PIERRE MENDÈS FRANCE



FINALLY the day of the trial arrives, and I am brought to court. There are photographers everywhere—in the courtyard, in the street, in the corridors. Never, even when I was in the Government, have I been photographed so often!

I am left in a little chamber next to the lawyers' cloakroom. My advocates are there, very much disturbed. They have taken such a personal interest in the case that the thought of the trial frightens them. I know that when it ends their disappointment and disillusionment will be even greater than my own.

My name is called out, and I enter the large courtroom which is filled with people. The first step in the procedure is the roll call of witnesses. General Jauneaud is absent; he has preferred not to appear. This is a matter of some regret to me, but I am not unduly surprised!

The clerk of the court reads the indictment. I glance around the hall, hoping to see familiar faces, and note that some of my friends have come. Their presence is a sign of their affection for me. Simply to feel that they are in the room is a great encouragement. But when I catch the eyes of the others, I immediately perceive that the immense majority are hostile to me. Ostensibly the trial is public, but "to avoid incidents," one may enter only by invitation! Nearly three hundred cards have been given out. Six of them have been placed at the disposition of the defense.* But some of the invitations have found their way into unauthorized hands. I understand that cards have been sold at a café on the Place de Jaude for as much as twenty francs. I am quite proud of this minor success.

I am used to public gatherings. I can quickly get the "feel" of an audience and gauge its state of mind. So it is not difficult to guess what the men and women crowded behind me are thinking. In particular I note on my left two rows of fashionable women who obviously have no sympathy for me. It appears that a few of them are the wives of the men who are going to decide my fate. . . . A little farther back I see Colonel Leprêtre. His eyes stubbornly refuse to meet mine.

While I am presenting my case at the bar I shall sense in the public as well as in the judges an impenetrable, an insurmountable wall of hostility. Each time that I offer an impressive argument I shall feel behind me the tight-lipped

* One of these cards enabled us to bring a stenographer into the courtroom and made it possible to have a complete report of the trial. When my lawyers asked Colonel Degache if we might have a stenographer, he emphatically refused. Doubtless he did not see the necessity for records of a trial in which, as he felt in advance, he would hardly be proud of his role. To solve our problem we took the liberty of introducing a stenographer by means of one of our invitations. When Degache noticed the stratagem, he did not dare create an incident in open court by drawing attention to it.

rage of people impatiently waiting for the rejoinder. At every angry and ill-tempered interruption of the presiding magistrate, I shall sense their satisfaction and approval.

This morning I am to hold the stage for more than three hours. First comes the establishment of identity:

"Your name? . . . First names? . . . Place and date of birth? . . . Place of residence?" I had not anticipated this question, classic though it be. Where is my place of residence? I see again for the fraction of a second my home at Paris where I had lived so happily. Everything in it, everything to which my memory returns, is scattered and dispersed. I see again my little house at Louviers with the children running between the apple trees in the garden. It has been pillaged by the invaders, and now it is for rent. Where then do I live?

The presiding magistrate now requests my complete statement in answer to the indictment. This is the moment for which I have been waiting for months. I make a great effort and take myself in hand so that my words will be clear, circumspect, and precise. I want to avoid impassioned disputation. I want to stifle my revolt. Only after I have offered my evidence with all possible calm, will I show my anger and let the authorities know what I think of them and of the case they have concocted. Colonel Perré, the presiding magistrate, interrupts me repeatedly, passionately. He is trying to make it impossible for me to present my arguments in an orderly fashion. While I am discussing a certain matter, he suddenly questions about another with an obvious desire to throw me off guard. I state very calmly but firmly that I do not propose to accept this procedure. I shall leave nothing undisclosed; I shall examine, one by one, each of the allegations, each sentence of the indictment; but I will do this according to a logical plan, upon which I have long reflected and to which I intend to adhere.

After every one of my assertions, after every bit of evidence I submit, I turn toward the prosecutor, Colonel Degache, and wait for an objection or a rejoinder. He does not say a word. . . . I enumerate the lies that I have noted in the indictment. Some of them are very easily exposed; one need only turn to facts recorded in the brief. Degache persists in his silence. In a detailed discussion of the "affair of the tenth of May," I recall that I had acted as had all the other officers of the Army of the Near East. I point out that among these was a colonel in the legal branch of the service and a high medical officer, the brother of General Bergeret, Minister of Aviation. This causes something of a sensation in the courtroom, but Degache still remains silent. I conclude by showing that as a matter of fact the question has already been settled judicially by a decision of the highest military court of appeal. (There is not a word of this decision in the indictment.) And still Degache does not budge.

He is just as he was described to me, completely lacking in intelligence. It seems to be a habit of his to remain silent all through a trial. He is content to obey the orders of the Government, that is to say to draw up the trongest possible case against the accused. After that, he can relapse into complete silence. During my trial he does not even question the witnesses he himself has called. I begin to understand the scornful irony with which Colonel Leprêtre speaks of him. Unfortunately Perré makes up for him. I have never seen a judge so play the part of prosecuting attorney. Despite his angry interruptions I complete my exposition of the affair of the tenth of May and then of the tenth of June. I feel very clearly that the people in the courtroom have been impressed. And the severe words of my conclusion denouncing the odious plot of which I am the victim, go over better than I should have expected.

I have finished. Turning to the presiding magistrate, I tell him that I should like nothing better, of course, than to answer any additional questions; that I should be very happy to elucidate more completely any point that I may involuntarily have neglected. Perré, who had so much to say a little while ago, now requires no further explanation, he has no question to ask. "You may now be seated."

II

IN the afternoon the witnesses are heard, about ten in number. I believe Colonel Alamichel is the first. His testimony deals only with the affair of the tenth of May which, strictly speaking, forms no part of the case against me. He declares that the men on leave from the Near East had not been recalled on the tenth of May, 1940, and that I had acted only as all my comrades had acted. He confirms my statement that after this date I had remained in correspondence with him. I read a letter from him, written in May, 1940, that

I received at Paris. Leprêtre had never been willing to send for this letter, nor had he questioned Alamichel about it. The letter in which Alamichel told me to stay in Paris, remained in the occupied zone: I got it back that very morning! Obviously it completely disposes of the whole affair of the tenth of May; my conduct cannot be blamed, for I had acted upon the written orders of my superior. It is the first time since the beginning of the case that the matter can be placed in this light. Until now Leprêtre has stood in the way.

The defense asks: "How would you describe the conduct of Mendès France as an officer?"

Colonel Alamichel answers: "It was excellent. He never attempted to take advantage of his position as a Deputy, nor to act as anything but an officer."

Another question: "You know Mendès France since he served under you. Do you believe him to be capable of deserting, of running away before the enemy?"

The answer: "He is incapable of it."

The second witness is Lieutenant-colonel Fay, who was also in Syria during the days of May, 1940. He confirms all the statements of his superior officer who has just been heard: "Mendès France did not return to the Near East, acting in this respect as did all his comrades on leave. As a matter of policy they were not recalled. Mendès France was a very good officer who rendered valuable service. He never attempted to make use of his political position nor to depart from his strictly military role."

The defense asks: "Do you believe him capable of deserting?"

Lieutenant-colonel Fay answers: "Absolutely not."

And now there is one of those ludicrous incidents such as occasionally occur even in the most tragic circumstances. A ridiculous fat man takes the stand, flushed and breathless. He has a pot-belly, thick lips, and puffy cheeks. It is Colonel Bailly, the foul embodiment of emptiness and perfidy. Once the collaborator of the Republican ministers Laurent-Eynac and Guy La Chambre, and now aide-de-camp to Admiral Darlan, he wishes to exhibit his zeal in order to win his place in the new regime. He is the pet witness for the prosecution, in fact the only witness against me. He first speaks of the affair of the tenth of May. With the best will in the world he has not the slightest recollection of what he then said to me when I called on him at the Ministry. His memory is much better when he talks about the "Massilia." He had seen me at Bordeaux on June 20, 1940, and warned me not to embark on the "Massilia." (From the legal point of view all this is without importance since I am no longer being prosecuted for sailing on the "Massilia." But Colonel Bailly has simply been brought into court and made to lie under oath in an attempt to defame and dishonor me.)

My lawyers wish to disregard his testimony. But I who remember the deferential and obsequious Bailly of May, 1940, am too sickened by his dishonesty for that. And then he is the one witness for the prosecution. Why should I spare him? I shall tell the whole truth, tell how he received me when I called at the Ministry. Since Colonel Bailly does not recall our conversations, I shall endeavor to stimulate his memory with a detailed account of his remarks:

> I introduced myself to you at the Military Cabinet on May 11, 1940. I was a lieutenant; you were a colonel; and I came to speak about military matters. From the beginning of the interview you made a point of seeing in me only the Deputy and the former member of the Government. You repeatedly favored me with expressions of personal sympathy, with political confidences, with political professions of faith. You told me: "I am an old Radical-Socialist, a Freemason; I have collaborated with Déat, with Guy La Chambre, with Laurent-Eynac. My daughter married the son of Ferrin who is a Radical Deputy like you, and of whom I am very fond. What more need I say to prove my attachment to you. How can I serve you?" At the end of our conversation you went with me to the landing; you called the elevator and opened the door for me; and you were bowing and scraping and purring all the while. I am sorry to use unpleasant words, but they are the only ones which characterize your attitude toward me: You were as obsequious with me then as you must now be with Admiral Darlan! . . . I was to telephone you the next day for the decision concerning men on leave from the Near East, that famous question. But I met you in a corridor of the Chamber. You were in the midst of a large group of my colleagues and casually chatting. Once again you received me with many marks of flattery. You again said that in your opinion I need not return to the Near East and that a ruling of general application would doubtless be made. The next day you advised me to get in touch with my superior officer, General

Jauneaud,—and you gave me his private address. You again told me that in the near future an official decision would be made allowing men on leave from Syria to remain in France. A communique to this effect appeared in the press, as you had predicted. Its provisions are absolutely general in application, and perfectly unambiguous. Under the circumstances I do not understand how you can profess today that you have forgotten what you told me at the time. Or rather I understand it only too well. Then you were serving a boss on the Left, a parliamentarian; now you are serving a boss on the Right, an anti-parliamentarian. Well, Colonel, allow me to tell you that your zeal is a little excessive.

Colonel Bailly lets me talk on, becoming redder and redder, but without making even a vague gesture of protest. Finally he stammers a few embarrassed explanations. He does not deny having received me very politely, very courteously: it was his duty; I was an influential Deputy (commotion in the courtroom). That he accompanied me to the elevator was quite possible; that his daughter had married the son of Ferrin was perfectly true. But really he does not remember at all that he saw me about the tenth of May. On the other hand, he clearly recalls having seen me at Bordeaux and having advised me not to sail on the "Massilia."

I return to the attack: "Your so-called account of our conversation at Bordeaux is completely fantastic. You had no reason to advise me not to go to Morocco since that is where my comrades were. (This is so patently true that I am no longer being prosecuted for sailing on the 'Massilia.') To go back to the affair of the tenth of May, I reaffirm categorically all that I have said, and I ask you on the other hand to answer more clearly and unambiguously."

Everybody has understood. The atmosphere of the courtroom has completely changed. Even the presiding magistrate, when he speaks to Bailly, does so with scorn in his voice. The witness is incapable of saying anything at all. He manages to mutter a few vague protests and recalls his military record in the last war. It is painful to listen to him.

All eyes are turned toward Degache who has summoned Bailly and who is to some degree responsible for his testimony. But Degache's mind seems to be wandering. What has just happened, it would appear, is a matter of complete indifference to him. He has not a word to say in support of his witness, not a question to ask. Bailly, whose position has become more and more embarrassing and ridiculous, asks permission to withdraw. "Admiral Darlan is expecting me," he says. (There is laughter.)

Maître Fonlupt announces: "The defense does not wish to detain Colonel Bailly, and it has no objection to his withdrawal. It has no questions to ask of a witness of this type." (Timid applause at the rear of the courtroom.)

The presiding magistrate hastily gets rid of Colonel Bailly who is glad to leave a place where his virtues are not appreciated.

III

GENERAL d'Astier de la Vigerie now steps forward. His appearance is a signal for the presiding magistrate to indulge in violent personal attacks. The witness has hardly been able to utter a word before he is interrupted by Perré: "You took Mendès France on your staff at Rabat in June, 1940. This was a political gesture."

General d'Astier answers haughtily: "I have never engaged in political activity in the army. If, like others, I had yielded to the temptation, it would certainly have been along different lines than you suppose. I have always opposed the Popular Front, and at times I have been made to suffer the consequences of my opposition. It shames me that I am obliged to recall such facts within these walls." Then he tells the story of my case with a dignity and nobility that obviously impress the public. Fonlupt pays him the homage that the presiding magistrate did not see fit to render: General d'Astier is one of the heroes of the air and a *grand mutilé* of the other war. No one merits higher respect than he.

What I do not know at the moment is that two of his children are in prison. One of his daughters, who is twenty-five years old, and a son, about fifteen, have been arrested, charged with spreading "gaullist" propaganda. As a matter of fact, it is the father who has been aimed at. He might perhaps have bought their liberty by adopting a less courageous attitude in my case, or (like Jauneaud) by simply not coming to court. But he recognized his obligation to do his duty fully and with complete disregard of the price he might have to pay.

The two most important witnesses are still to be heard: Colonel Lucien and Colonel Le Coq de Kerland. Lucien is shaken and excited when he takes the stand. He knows, after hearing the indictment, that everything depends —ought to depend—upon his testimony. Yet, as he has already said at the preliminary hearing, he cannot rely on his memory with respect to a certain number of details. When he handled my case in June, 1940, it was a trivial matter for him, one file of papers among many others. It came to his attention during the debacle, and his mind was elsewhere. Today those details, once inconsequential, have assumed great importance: a man's liberty and honor are at stake. With all possible honesty and loyalty Lucien makes a visible effort to state precisely the facts that he remembers:

> On the tenth of May, at the time of the German offensive, Mendès France asked me to send him to the front. There was no need at the moment of more aviators. I insisted that he should wait. He came to see me several times, and kept himself at my disposition, so to speak. For this whole period I can answer for him completely. . . . I saw him again on the tenth of June and gave him an order to go to Bordeaux. He was to arrive there in a few days. In no respect did he ever disobey any order of mine. When he presented himself to me at Bordeaux, I had nothing to reproach him with, and my memories were fresher then than they are today. At that time I had occasion to speak of Mendès France to my collaborator, Colonel Le Coq de Kerland and to my wife whom he knew slightly. I told them what he had proposed and what I had decided.

Maître Fonlupt repeats his question: "You are well acquainted with Mendès France. He served under you for a long time. Is he capable of deserting in the presence of the enemy?"

The answer is: "He is absolutely incapable of deserting."

Now it is the turn of Colonel Le Coq de Kerland, a brilliant ace of the first World War. Nobody in this courtroom is in a position to instruct him in matters of military honor. From the beginning his perfect ease of manner stands out in contrast with Lucien's hesitation and timidity. Quite sure of himself, De Kerland first tells how he met me when he was the director of the Ecoles du Levant, at which I was a student-observer. He reports that I finished the course at the head of my class,

that I was very anxious to fight, and that I had requested first to be sent to Norway and then to the French front. Le Coq de Kerland has a great deal of information regarding my case. After leaving the Near East, he was stationed at the headquarters in charge of reserve-personnel, which again placed him over me. He was not present when, on the tenth of June, Colonel Lucien gave me the order which is the sole point at issue in the trial. But the next day, at Amboise, Lucien spoke to him about it twice.

"All this is perfectly clear," he says. "Mendès France has at no time been guilty of the slightest infraction of military rules, nor has he ever failed to fulfill all his obligations. We often spoke together. I answer for his character, his sentiments, his patriotism; he is a man who does not desert."

The presiding magistrate is anxious to dismiss this witness. He asks peevishly: "You have nothing to add?"

The answer is: "Whatever may happen tonight, I take this occasion to state publicly

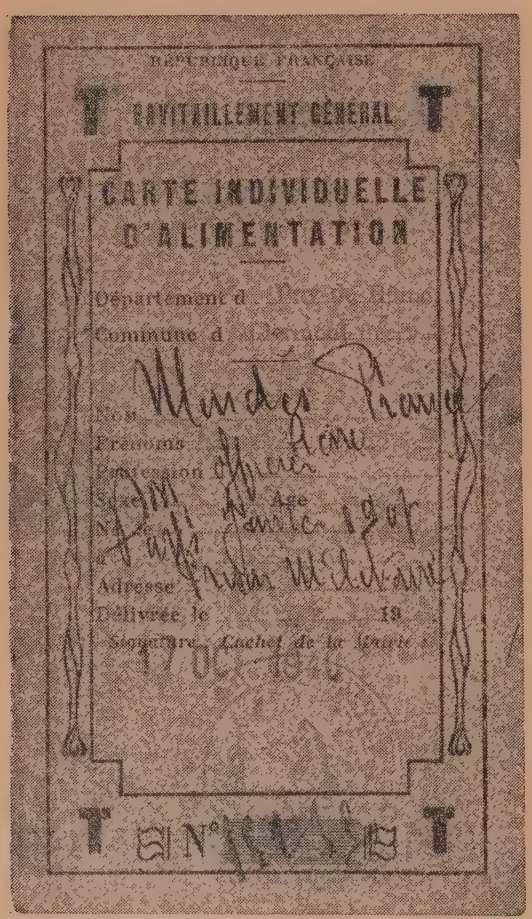
that I have and always shall have the highest regard for Mendès France."

The public breaks out in applause. Perré is furious. He yells and threatens to have the courtroom cleared. When the noise does not stop, he hastily adjourns the court until nine o'clock in the evening.

IV

I LEAVE the courtroom in something of a daze. That a group of people handpicked by my accusers should have reacted as it did, is more than I could have hoped for.

They take me back to the prison where I am going to have dinner with my comrades. They are as excited as if they themselves had been on trial. Once again I am deeply moved by their affection. I tell them what happened, and they ask me for my prediction of the verdict. The people I saw on leaving, lawyers, journalists, etc., expect me to be acquitted, but I have no illusions. I observed the attitude of the presiding magistrate and of the other judges. They were obviously annoyed at the turn the trial had taken, and their minds were stubbornly closed. Yet two of them did perhaps show signs of interest on several occasions—during the testimony of Lucien, of his wife, and of De Kerland. But what confidence can one have in a gesture, a glance, or in a rapidly mastered reflex action?


RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

RAVITAILLEMENT GÉNÉRAL

CARTE INDIVIDUELLE D'ALIMENTATION

Département d

Commune d

Nom Mendès France

Prénoms Pierre

Profession

Sexe M Né le 11 janvier 1907

Adresse Paris

Délivrée le 19

Signature Cachet de la Mairie

17 OCT 1942

N°

A Prisoner's Ration Card

The two hour recess has ended, and I am back in the courtroom. The presiding magistrate asks that there be no renewal of the demonstrations which caused him so much irritation in the afternoon. He threatens to punish those who do not remain perfectly silent. Then he calls upon Degache to make the speech for the prosecution.

Degache speaks briefly—for about five minutes—but with all possible malice and venom. He does not attempt to prove anything, but confines himself to categorical statements: "On the tenth of June you received an order. Your leave was automatically cancelled. You should have left immediately. By not doing so you placed yourself in the position of a deserter. The only acceptable excuse for tardiness in arrival was an unavoidable delay en route. I concede that, in view of conditions of travel, you could not have made the trip in less than three days."

Fonlupt interrupts: "In that case how long was the delay upon which the charge of desertion is based?"

Degache makes no answer. Indeed, according to his thesis (which I of course contest), I am accused only of a delay of a few hours. For these few hours Degache demands eight years in prison, degradation, and deprivation for ten years of my civil, civic, and family rights.

Then, at the end, the defense has its hour. Rochat speaks first. I cannot give a complete summary of his plea. To tell the truth, my memories of the close of the trial are somewhat confused. Rochat begins by condemning the political character of the proceedings against me but he soon turns to the specific charges with vigor, logic, and irony.

"As for deserters, we have all seen quite a number of them within these walls. They were men who, having failed to fulfill their military duty, naturally avoided all contact with the authorities who would have arrested them upon discovery. They went into hiding,

stripped of their uniforms. In this case you have before you a peculiar deserter, one who did not cease to remain in contact with the military authorities. At Paris he goes to see the Minister of Aviation, General Jauneaud, Colonel Bailly. The nature of their conversations may lend itself to discussion; in any case, it is certain that he went to see them. We know that he constantly corresponded with his immediate superior, and that he remained in continual contact with Colonel Lucien, Colonel de Kerland, and Colonel Costes. We know that at Louviers he saw the officer in charge of the fortification and the head of the Gendarmerie on several occasions. At Bordeaux he again sees Colonel Lucien and Colonel Costes, later Lieutenant-Colonel Courtin. He goes to the air base at Mérignac and to the B. C. M. C., and reports on conditions at the latter to Admiral Dumesnil and to General Michel. At Casablanca he presents himself to the colonel heading the Commission Régulatrice and to the general of the district. All the high officers and generals that I have just enumerated were precisely informed in every case as to his military status. . . . What an unusual deserter he is who did not take off his uniform a single day, and who perhaps has not let a single day pass without placing himself in direct contact with his superior officers. What an unusual deserter is this officer who unceasingly, time after time, pleaded to be sent into action!"

Then Fonlupt makes his plea. The first part particularly deals with the specific basis of the indictment, the affair of the tenth of June. Fonlupt devotes himself to the strictly legal aspects of the case, citing texts, laws, and regulations. The presiding officer with his mocking air does not cease to smile in the face of this endeavor, because he is in a position to take full measure of its naïveté. One of the judges at his side, with mind at rest, has drowsed off. The prosecutor is scribbling away at his notes. In them all there is a kind of insolent will to disregard the defense and the arguments it is attempting to drive home. Fonlupt obviously realizes this, but he does not give up trying. From time to time he exchanges a sharp retort with the presiding magistrate. He answers the attacks upon my reputation. He sketches my career, and especially that of my family, recalling their services to France in preceding generations. It is clear that he is appealing to a stone wall. The court is stubbornly resistant, impenetrable, deaf.

As his conclusion, Fonlupt warns the judges and the whole judicial system they represent of the inevitable, if sometimes delayed, consequences of denials of justice for which a whole regime is held responsible. He makes a desperate appeal to the conscience and the honor of the officers who in a few moments will have to make their decision. The presiding officer is silent while Fonlupt finishes his plea. He appears resigned to let it run its course, though every sentence is a slap in his face. He has realized that it is better to let the lawyers speak freely rather than to venture upon interruptions which invariably result in humiliating retorts. But he is anxious to be finished with the case. Fonlupt has scarcely sat down when Perré asks me the traditional question: "Have you anything to add in your defense?"

I stand up, feeling the strain of deep emotion. A few days ago, Perré told my lawyers that I should win the favor of the court if at the trial I would recognize that I had committed at least an involuntary act of imprudence, and if I would offer some expressions of regret. Doubtless that is what he now expects of me. But neither my lawyers nor myself considered for a moment buying at this price a lightening of the inevitable sentence. Therefore my final declaration was a categorical denial of the charges. I have now forgotten the precise words which came to my lips. I recall, however, that I protested once more against "the shame of this unwarranted trial." I also expressed my pride at seeing in court the officers under whom I had served and at hearing each one of them testify to his esteem for me and to my ardent desire to fight. For the last time I solemnly affirm that I have not failed in my duty as a Frenchman and officer. "I am not the kind of man who deserts."

V

THE trial is over.

It does not take the judges long to deliberate —hardly a few minutes. From the little room to which I have again been taken, I see them leave the chamber where they have come to their decision. Two of them have a satisfied air; the others do not seem happy. They come into the courtroom to which I am not yet called. The verdict is read in my absence. Through the door I hear some sounds. I recognize the voice of the presiding magistrate who is reading the decision of the court, but I

cannot make out the words. Then a heavy murmur of disapproval and disappointment comes from the courtroom. This obviously means that I have been convicted. The reading goes on at great length. Neither the details of the verdict nor the exact sentence interests me. The answer to the question of my guilt has been in the affirmative, nothing else counts.

The door opens. A few friends rush toward me, then my lawyers, and then numerous sympathizers of Clermont-Ferrand whom I do not know. They are dumbfounded, brokenhearted. Several have tears in their eyes. It is I who must console them. They dare not give me the details. Finally someone comes out with it; I am condemned to six years in prison. But what difference can it make whether it is four years or six years or ten years? It is all the same to me. If I must be locked up, can anything but the liberation of France bring about my own liberation?

But the formalities are not yet over. The convicted man has still to be notified of the verdict. This takes place in the empty courtroom, the public having departed. The judges have also left—like criminals who run away after finishing a nasty bit of work. My lawyers accompany me. The young soldiers on guard duty present arms. They have been present at the whole trial. I can read their feelings in their eyes. Degache has remained, and he is even more confused and embarrassed than I am. He is as ashamed as if he were the accused man and I the prosecutor.

The clerk of the court, Captain Cadenat, begins to read the verdict in a hollow voice. I only half listen. I catch on the fly the formulas I so often heard when I was practising law: "In the name of the French people [alas!] . . . To the first question put in this form: Is Lieutenant Mendès France guilty . . . of desertion? . . . the court has answered: 'He is guilty.' "

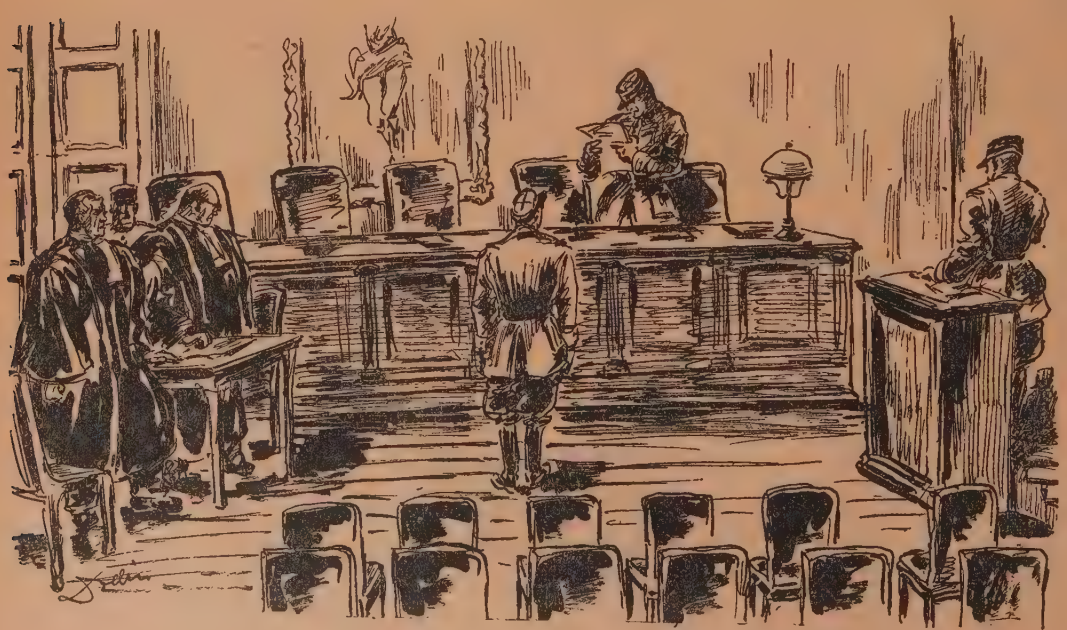
I cry out: "The court has lied."

The prosecutor seems not to have heard. The clerk of the court is disconcerted and stops. He cannot imagine that such an outrage will remain unanswered. Then he continues. I hear: "Six years of imprisonment . . . military degradation . . . deprivation for ten years of civil, civic and family rights . . ."

Finally he stops. I turn toward the soldiers of the guard. They are pale. I say to them: "An innocent man has just been convicted because of political hatred. This is not French justice; it is Hitler's justice. Do not despair of France."

Then I go toward Colonel Degache who is staring at the ground: "Mr. Prosecutor, I hope your conscience is at rest. You have done a good day's work for Hitler—and for your career."

The gendarmes take me away. It is after two o'clock in the morning.



The Era of Transition

By Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer

"BETWEEN the end of the war and the beginning of peace there must be a transition period, a bastard or twilight interval, half war and half peace."
—Leonard S. Woolf.

THE United Nations must march into Europe with a master plan. It must not be one of these improvisations dear to democracies; not a scheme hastily concocted at the moment of the establishment of bridgeheads on the European continent and drawn up after the general revolt against oppression has set in. I hope that as these lines are written in the stillness of a small town in Virginia, experts in London and Washington are concentrating on such plans and maps. These plans must be based on a broad concept of the principles on which the peace is to be built, and these broad principles, in turn, would correspond to the great strategical concepts underlying the general plans for war. But concrete planning is not possible unless the central aims are established in advance.

I have stated before that the war aim for Europe is the establishment of a confederation which would pool the whole military power and exert a control over economic life that would make its military supremacy uncontested. Since European unification on a federal basis is the pivotal idea of post-war reorganization and reconstruction, the master plan of the United Nations must be based on this concept. Everything else must be subordinated to this idea. For the era of transition the guiding principles of action must be to prevent everything which could possibly prejudice the realization of these aims and to encourage all the forces likely to facilitate their realization.

If in the moment of victory forces surging from inside urge greater and more extended authority for the federal power, they should be aided in every manner. It is more likely that reluctance to agree to any unification and not the wish to go beyond the minimum requirements of a European Confederation will create serious problems for the victors. The end of hostilities and the collapse of Hitlerism must not initiate an era of anarchy, regional wars, starvation, and bloodshed. Only the existence of a minutely prepared master plan can prevent these possibilities inherent in the situation.

As the manner of the collapse, the circumstances, the forces and difficulties which will suddenly appear cannot be calculated in advance, the plans must remain elastic and adaptable within certain limits. It would be a mistake to cope only with contingencies like the awakening of chauvinistic tendencies and social radicalism, typical of immediate post-war eras. The possibility of strong reactionary tendencies, violent religious revivals, and monarchical movements, must equally be taken into account. Such tendencies would not modify the grand strategy of the United Nations, but they might demand tactical alterations from one hour to the next. In the hour of victory much that is unexpected and unpredictable will happen. Some of it may be hopeful beyond dreams; much of it, it is feared, will be prejudicial to the future order. To encourage all the cooperative forces, to silence all the dangerous ones, will be the supreme task of the political strategy of the United Nations in the era of transition.

The technique of total war involves fighting on three different levels: on the military, as in the wars of the past; on the military-economic level, as in the last war; and on the psychological plane. Similarly, preparations for the era of transition must be effected on the military, the economic, and the psychological

planes. They must be prepared with the general staff technique of the armies of the world, minutely and methodically. That general staffs prepare plans applicable to an infinite variety of contingencies is generally acknowledged as a necessity, but that the transition period must be prepared in advance with the same seriousness and method is still a shock to many.

Europe will be utterly unprepared for a democratic order and for international cooperation in the hour of victory. The reactions of its peoples will be contradictory and may even be destructive. There will be a serious danger of local lawlessness and disorder. The first and immediate task will therefore consist in the prevention of upheavals and revolts which find their origin in starvation and want. Epidemics may threaten the continent, but I believe that the danger is very much overestimated. Even the Spanish Civil War, waged under shocking conditions of sanitation, did not cause any major epidemics. Pharmaceutical products are among the few commodities which the gigantic chemical industry of Germany has been able to supply to Europe in some degree until recently.

But with the local and regional supplies of foodstuffs plundered by the Germans and the reserves transferred to Germany, the threat of starvation and anarchy will be very serious in a moment when communications will be interrupted or required for military purposes. Under these circumstances the life of three hundred million Europeans will depend upon the functioning of supply lines and *ad hoc* organized transportation. "To reprovision the whole continent, to restart its industries and its agriculture, to furnish the machinery, the raw materials and the fertilizers which they will need, to reorganize the finances of one ruined country after another, will be," in the words of Harold Butler, "a task of unexampled magnitude."

There is no need to insist further on this point. We have evidence that this aspect is being fully studied in London and Washington and that giant machinery is being prepared to undertake those tasks at the critical moment. On the speed with which the supply organizations and agencies of the United Nations act, may depend the success or failure of the whole subsequent constructive effort. On their efficiency may depend whether Europe will become a prosperous and peaceful continent or sink into chaos comparable only to the anarchy and destruction in the wake of the Thirty Years' War. Feeding and clothing Europe is an emergency measure; to rush material and fertilizers to them will enable resumption of the normal processes of industrial and agrarian production and prevent indefinite dependency on the efforts of the victors. But these measures are purely preventive; they do not solve any of the European problems. It is therefore to be hoped that, unexampled in magnitude as this task may be, these emergency measures will be considered a first installment only, a minor task, compared with the others facing the victorious armies.

II

THE situation facing the victorious Democracies in the moment of Hitlerian collapse will be unenviable despite the elation of victory. Their relationship to the liberated people may create serious problems. What the attitude of these people toward their liberators will be cannot be gauged in advance. They will certainly collaborate with them when the second front moves. The revolt will spread like a fan. The population may receive the armies of the United Nations with open arms; they may be grateful and appreciative, but everything will depend very much upon the circumstances.

Should military errors in the establishment of the bridgeheads lead to reversals and withdrawals, should civilian populations be punished for having assisted an abortive second front before the real offensive succeeds, they might remain distrustful, resentful, even antipathetic toward their liberators. They may especially blame their nationals who have worked abroad for the liberation of their countries, for having encouraged raids, incited sabotage, promoted disorder, enlisted compatriots in the fight, and for having personally escaped the common fate of misery during the most difficult years in the history of their countries. Particularly important will be their feelings toward the British. Resentment against Britain was nearly universal on the European continent during the latter part of the long armistice. Such feelings were based on an unfortunate inability to understand the motives and limitations of British policy due to their world-wide interests. We do not know whether this negative attitude toward the British has survived the years of German domination or

has increased; whether Britain is hated for having enforced a merciless blockade of foodstuffs upon Europe, exposing the peoples of the conquered territories to starvation, or admired for her relentlessness.

We know even less what the peoples feel about Russia. In the English-speaking countries a remarkable evolution has taken place, inducing even conservative persons to admire the Russian people and to revise some of their opinions of the Soviet system. We do not know whether occupied Europe has reacted similarly, whether the alliance of the Democracies with Stalin is approved or whether the old-fashioned type of anti-bolshevism survives, especially among the educated classes. Admiration and fears for the future may balance each other. If this is the case, great difficulties may be expected from a participation of the Russians in the policing of Europe.

On the relationship between liberated peoples and their liberators Macaulay makes this profound remark: "Even thus a people who have been enslaved and oppressed for some years are most grateful to their liberators; but those who are set free after very long slavery are not unlikely to tear their liberators to pieces." How the peoples will react in the hour of liberation will not only depend upon the duration of their enslavement, but also upon the degree that Hitler has corrupted the hearts and minds of his victims. No resentment should be felt if reserve, mistrust, and criticism greet the liberators instead of gratitude.

The emergency measures to be taken for the speedy supply of the necessities of life are the first and immediate task. These commodities must be supplied indiscriminately to friend and foe without political consideration. No conditions must be attached. Important as the humanitarian motives may be which will go into this venture, they will not be the mainspring of this action. To prevent hunger revolts and general plunder is in the interest not only of the peoples themselves but also of the world at large. In Germany the problem will probably be less acute and urgent than in other parts of Europe because of big reserves of foodstuffs ravished from Europe. The problem here may be one of transportation rather than lack of the essential commodities. Italy, on the other hand, will be sorely in need of help and succor.

If the first step is merely dictated by considerations of expediency, the next must be marked by the exigencies of the plans that the United Nations have drawn for Europe. This second step must consist in an attempt to prevent the liberated peoples from reverting to their pre-Hitlerian past, surrounding themselves with the walls of their previous sovereignties, and restoring their old economic, military, and (in some cases) political systems. Measures will have to be initiated simultaneously to free the liberated nations from all unnecessary restrictions and impediments.

To restrain the populations from taking their destinies into their own hands will be one of the most difficult and delicate tasks confronting the victorious armies and their political advisers. These nations will, not unnaturally, demand their immediate and integral freedom, if for no other motive than as a token of release from servitude to a despicable foreign master. They might even feel that not even their liberators are entitled to withhold from them the liberties and sovereign rights they previously enjoyed. It would be natural for them to consider bad and unbearable everything which had been done by their oppressor. These tendencies must be curbed, for they would mean to exchange Hitlerian serfdom for anarchy. No more fatal blow could be dealt against the prospect of a real and lasting international order.

III

THE necessity of "freezing" for some time the *status quo* of the day of victory, painful as it may be for the victors to ordain, recommends itself. What fairness and common sense would seem to suggest, namely, to grant the liberated victims the privilege of working out their own salvation, cannot be carried out. They have lost their former economic status; the coherence of their social structure has been jeopardized; and they may also have lost, in spite of their mental and physical resistance, their ability to cope with the problems of reconstruction and to judge the situation in its entirety. Some of them might even have lost, temporarily, their national identity.

The fear that such freezing could mean a virtual perpetuation of the German domination, or at least of the German orientation of their economic life, must be arrested as quickly as possible. Economic dependence on Berlin must be severed, for psychological more than for material reasons. Until this is effected the

occupation of Germany by the victors should suffice to dissipate any fears which may dominate these peoples in the intermediary period.

Such a general policy of standstill is suggested by two major considerations. The first is motivated by the dangers implied in the inevitable tendency of the liberated nations to regain their full and unrestrained sovereignty with the shortest delay. It is almost certain that liberation from foreign yoke will be accompanied by a violent outbreak of a virulent, even aggressive nationalism and chauvinism. Such tendencies will be particularly harmful at a moment when the foundation for collaboration on a European scale must be laid. In doing this, these nations would destroy any chance of securing for themselves a more tranquil future.

In the first stage of transition the pooling of the military power must be prepared, but it must not be effected at once. The armies of the United Nations will guarantee order during this stage. But it is necessary to prevent any step which might prejudice such organization. A return to full military and economic power would fatally compromise the constructive effort. Nothing, therefore, must revert or be granted to the liberated nations which they cannot keep later. *The minimum needs of the supra-national organization to be established must top all other considerations.* In maintaining this principle the United Nations must keep in mind that it is comparatively easier to withhold full sovereignty at that moment than to surrender everything and later to begin demanding parts back again. Two reasons should determine such an attitude—one inherent in the psychology of the individual peoples themselves, the other in the psychology of international action.

To return to these nations liberties and rights which have to be reclaimed later, when the actual reconstruction of Europe is undertaken, would mean to create artificial difficulties and retarding elements in a situation already filled to the brim with perplexities. It would be a mistake of the first order, one of the kind committed in 1919. Strong resistance would be encouraged where and when such resistance could be avoided; compromises would be invited where no compromises must be accepted. The feeling would be created among the freed peoples that they are robbed by their friends after having been robbed by their enemy. Having been deprived of their liberties for years, a further delay of a few months should not be unbearable. Having lost everything, anything which will revert to them will be felt as an improvement. As a matter of fact, nearly everything will, at this later stage, actually be returned to them.

From the international point of view it would be an even greater mistake to precipitate a return to full sovereignty. One of the major aspects of the League's failure should serve as a timely warning. The experience of the past quarter of a century shows that power and authority refused to an international agency during the period of shock cannot be gained in a later stage. The cautious stipulations of the original draft of the League were the maximum ever achieved by the Geneva organization. They were not only not strengthened subsequently, but were watered down step by step by consecutive interpretations, legal and political reservations, and dangerous precedents.

The second major reason recommending a temporary "freezing" of the European *status quo* lies in the necessity of safeguarding the future organization of Europe. The liberated nations will not only attempt to regain their lost sovereignty, but they will try to recover any territory they may have lost since 1939. The *status quo* of 1919-39 may have revealed great weaknesses, and the political structure of Europe may have displayed too little resistance against the dangers of aggression—still, for the peoples who have been oppressed and humiliated, the state in which they lived prior to Munich and the outbreak of the second World War was the last normal condition of their existence. They will wish to swing back to a position identified in their minds with peace, to a condition in which they considered themselves free and sovereign and masters of their destiny. The past may stand before their eyes as a mirage of happiness and tranquillity.

The implications of such tendencies are terrifying. In the case of countries like Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, the dangers would be comparatively small. The territorial size of these countries has not been appreciably changed, nor do they covet the territory of their neighbors. But in the case of France, the situation may become complicated. Alsace and Lorraine have been integrated into the German Reich; their French populations have been transplanted and dispersed all over France. To take back the two lost provinces without coordination with other steps taken by the

United Nations would create a situation full of danger. Such difficulties would, however, be mild compared with those which would be created by any attempt in Eastern and Southeastern Europe to rush back into conditions prevailing before the war.

Here, in the Southeast, frontiers have been changed, provinces awarded by Hitler to his friends, minorities transferred, and new states created. In this part of the world, Hitler has abolished some of the old injustices and replaced them by new ones, with the result that the atmosphere prevailing among some of his minor allies is loaded with distrust. With the new injustices, new hatreds have been created. To rush back to the pre-war status would mean the immediate outbreak of hostilities, the signal for unspeakable cruelties inflicted on the new settlers, chaos, and anarchy.

Germany has incorporated Luxemburg and Alsace as German provinces of the Third Reich; she has integrated Belgian territory allotted to that country by the Treaty of Versailles (Eupen and Malmedy); she has absorbed the Sudetenland ceded to her under the Munich award, forcibly annexed Austria, subjected the whole Czech territory to German administrative control and included it in the Reich as a province with minor rights (Protectorate), appropriated Yugoslav territory ceded by Austria after the last war, and extended her political frontiers deep into Poland. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Poland had taken Czech territory on the eve of the war, Russia appropriated provinces which belonged to Poland, Italy annexed Yugoslav territory, Hungary has received Rumanian, and Bulgaria Greek territory under different awards.

The situation is full of dynamite. If self-help were to become the slogan, the whole of Central, East, and Southeastern Europe would be in flames overnight. Only Soviet troops could prevent such outbreaks of violence. But Russia might be driven too far to the East by then and unable to reach the confines of Central and Balkan Europe in time to establish order.

If for no other reason, this prospect alone should be sufficient to recommend a general "freezing" order. It must be accompanied by a solemn appeal, backed by the whole prestige of the victors, not to appropriate lost territories, nor to revert to the habits of the past.

It is certain that the mutual feelings among the nations of this section of Europe will be poisoned by the territorial changes effected during the time of Hitler's domination. They have been played systematically against each other by Berlin in order to prevent the possibility of any solidarity among them. What the feelings of the other victims toward each other are and will be, is difficult to say. Hatred of Germany, subdued and often inarticulate, as long as the occupation lasts, will be general and outspoken. But this may be the only feeling they share. They may be inclined to blame each other. On the other hand they may feel a common bond of solidarity, facilitating the tasks of reconstruction. We do not know. But it would be wise not to count upon any solidarity beyond the solidarity against Germany.

●

In presenting Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's article, the Editors feel that although his point regarding the master plan of the United Nations is extremely well taken, we regret that he has seen fit to omit a discussion of the need for a common ideology in the United Nations. The fundamental problem of Europe, in our opinion, is the establishment of democracy which alone can guarantee the peaceful and constructive organization of Europe within the framework of a world machinery. Furthermore, we do not share the author's fears about the possibility of resentment against Great Britain and Russia. Both have played such an immense part in the mortal struggle against Hitlerism that they have earned the unqualified admiration and gratitude of other European nations. On the other hand, we recommend serious consideration of Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's original suggestion about "freezing" the status quo of the day of victory. Freezing, however, should not serve in any way as a pretext to delay those social reforms which all peoples of Europe desired and whose realization was delayed by the fascist aggressions.

Tom

The Economics of Collective Security

BY
MICHAEL A. HEILPERIN

ECONOMIC and political questions are inextricably tied together. The problems of today, the solutions of tomorrow are all both economic and political. If this often forgotten truth is disregarded, we may expect many setbacks on the road to democratic peace. The interrelation of these two types of questions is particularly striking in discussing the organization of an international system of security, usually referred to by the name of *collective security*. That notion came into being along with the League of Nations; indeed its translation into the language of practical politics was the primary task of the League. When it appeared that the task was not going to be carried out, the decline of the Geneva organization set in and the path leading to the second World War was cleared. As soon as we start making concrete arrangements for the peace that will follow a United Nations victory, collective security will once more occupy the center of the stage; possibly it will be called by another name, but the notion will be the same. And it is a safe prediction that unless we achieve it this time, the new peace like the last, will crash into a flaming ruin.

The opposite of collective security is individual insecurity. And after the failure of the Geneva system (failure due to inapplication rather than to basic defects), it was individual insecurity that became the leading characteristic of international relations. Aggressors-to-be armed economically and militarily. One by one, countries began to fall victims of aggression. The collective system was not applied or was applied half-heartedly and inadequately, as in case of Italy's attack on Ethiopia. Three quarters of the eleventh hour had elapsed before a makeshift collective guarantee of security was re-established, too late to prevent the totalitarian onslaught, not too late, however, to establish the nucleus, Great Britain, Poland, and France from which was to develop the group called the United Nations. Welded together by a common struggle these nations will undoubtedly endeavor to maintain peace by collective action. In the process of building a new system of international relations, the United Nations will have to establish anew a mechanism that will make the freedom and integrity of each country more secure through a combined effort of all of them. And that is collective security.

On the side of economic relations, collective security aims at cutting the aggressor country away from its sources of supplies necessary for the conduct of war. As such, it assumes that every country is dependent on foreign trade and that the system of collective security is universal. If the first assumption is not verified, the "economic weapon" loses its effectiveness because the aggressor is able to supply all his basic economic needs at home. If the second assumption is not carried out in reality, great difficulties are likely to arise because of the trade which non-member states may continue to carry out with the aggressor country.

The Covenant of the League of Nations placed great faith in the effectiveness of economic methods. The following paragraphs from Article XVI are the corner stone of the system:

> 1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants, . . . it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations,

the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a Member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective, military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures.

The passage is very illuminating in that its contents are much more precise in dealing with economic than with military measures. The latter are considered, however, as part of the system, and the advocates of an international army or police force can claim the authority of the League's Covenant. The economic provisions are, on the whole, rather complete, except in two important particulars which will be mentioned later. Article XVI shows quite clearly that the Covenant provided very effective instruments of action. The pity of it is that these instruments were left unused in every real test. It is also interesting to note that all through the years after 1919, the legal aspects of Article XVI were discussed with much greater care than its economic provisions. These were left in the shadow to an extent which almost passes comprehension as one looks back upon the inter-war period.

The authors of the Covenant realized the importance of cutting off the covenant-breaking country from *all* outside economic relations, *immediately* after the violation of peace has taken place. If all countries in the world belong to the International Organization *and* comply with their duties, then the application of economic sanctions becomes a relatively easy matter. But if some nations remain outsiders, the choice is either to rely on their good will or to enforce the sanctions through *blockading* the aggressor country. The former is too optimistic an assumption to be readily acceptable. A system of security cannot be a "fair weather system." Hence it must provide for a situation in which there are nonco-operating outsiders. It must therefore contain provisions for blockade. This is the most reasonable interpretation, it would seem, that could be given to the end of the first paragraph of Article XVI, quoted above. The League of Nations started by giving this interpretation, and a "Blockade Commission" met in 1921 to implement Article XVI. The Commission's work was very disappointing because no attention whatever was devoted to the question of blockade. Indeed, this aspect remained neglected all along, till it became clear in 1935-36 that economic sanctions may—and even must—call for naval and military measures if they are to be effective. When this became clear, sanctions were called off.

Thus we may draw a first inference from our discussion: economic sanctions must be enforced by blockade, that is to say, must be combined with appropriate military operations. A second conclusion is that states which belong to the International Organization must be *compelled* to apply sanctions, should they be reluctant to do so. In order to force co-operation, blockade is possible, but there must be additional sanctions, of a secondary kind, provided for use against Members who have violated certain of their commitments without being themselves aggressors. Thus we need a system of sanctions more flexible than that developed in the Covenant. Another—obvious—amendment to Article XVI would require sanctions to be levied also against non-member states guilty of aggression. In this, as in other matters, the Covenant shows clearly that its authors hoped essentially for a univeral League. The Covenant was not substantially amended when it became clear that important countries were going to stay out of the League.

II

THE new International Organization which the United Nations will eventually establish, whether it be called League of Nations or given some other name, will have actively to seek universal membership. This can be done by securing from the outset the participation of all the large countries, with great power and widespread economic interests, and by making the membership advantageous to the populations of the member states. The League of Nations provided little by way of an inducement to join it. In particular, there were no palpable ad-

vantages accruing to residents of member states which would be withheld from residents of countries that remained outside the League. Thus to the man in the street the League remained a very abstract notion; his immediate welfare did not obviously depend on whether his country was in the League or outside of it. There are two inducements the League could offer: political and military security, on the one hand, and economic advantages resulting from international co-operation on the other. Of these, the first was promised but, in the crisis, was not delivered; the second was not even offered (except for the rather vague article XXIII referring to "equitable treatment" in international trade). Consequently, there was no penalization of non-members.

The new League must correct these shortcomings if it is to succeed. Within its membership there should be a decisive movement toward freer trade, toward the development of international financial facilities, and toward other forms of international economic collaboration. All these advantages should be made available to new members, but not to non-members. If this system is established, we shall also have a method of applying a graduated scale of sanctions in cases of infractions to the international commitments accepted by member states.

The principal aim of sanctions is to frustrate the designs of a state which starts an aggressive war. Cessation of trade, interruption of financial relations, blockade, if necessary—these measures aim at depriving the aggressor of vital raw materials and food supplies. They must, however, inevitably hurt also other countries since a decline in international trade involves hardships for the producers of the formerly exported commodities. This has been provided for in Paragraph 3 of the quoted Article of the Covenant, but in 1935 there still was no machinery to deal with the problem and a considerable amount of friction resulted. The application of economic sanctions involves costs to members of the League and these costs are not distributed in accordance with the ability of individual countries to shoulder them. The relative burden depends on the degree that the various countries contribute to the import trade of the country against which sanctions are applied. For instance, if that country is a large importer of wheat and cotton, sanctions will affect mostly producers of these two commodities. The cost should be distributed both within countries and internationally. Similarly, if certain countries are cut off from their customary sources of supply, their import trade should be helped to a speedy reorientation. Finally, once the sanctions are called off, trade must be helped to flow back into its usual channels. All of this requires a good deal of administrative machinery and a great deal of permanent collaboration between the various national economies and economic policies. If the conflict is of short duration, the disturbing effects upon world trade may not be very large and a return to normal trade relations may be easy. The longer the conflict, the greater, obviously, is the damage done. Also, the cost of sanctions is the lowest and their effectiveness the greatest when the country against which they are levied is very dependent on foreign trade. The nearer a country approaches the condition of autarchy or self-sufficiency, the less effective are economic measures.

The last point opens a new line of thought and one that was neglected in the drafting of the League Covenant. Economic interdependence is a necessary prerequisite of economic sanctions. Aggressor countries realized this better than the faithful members of the League. Autarchy has been criticized on economic grounds, as leading to an uneconomical use of resources, an increase in costs of production and a lowering thereby of standards of living. It has been defended on the ground of certain rather doubtful ideas on economic stability and on the much less doubtful grounds of political expediency. Indeed, autarchy makes a country safe for aggression. How can it be achieved? Clearly our planet is not adapted to the establishment of self-sufficient countries. Not even the United States, the U.S.S.R., or German-conquered Europe is sufficiently autarchic. Hence the strife for complete autarchy leads to conquest, and inevitably so. It may be commercial conquest like that practiced by Germany in the thirties in Eastern and Southeastern Europe; or it may be military conquest, like that advocated by Fichte in "Der Geschlossener Handelsstaat," published in 1800 and practiced by his modern followers and countrymen.

But the various types of conquest are not the first step toward the achievement of complete independence from world trade. Conquest may ultimately confer such an independence. But a *relative* independence has to be obtained in order to start on the career of international gangsterism. That can be achieved by accumulating stocks of strategic materials sufficient to sustain

the original campaign. Thus the Axis countries increased their trade while advocating autarchy and at the same time changed the structure of their foreign commerce so as to devote all their buying power to the purchase of strategic commodities rather than to "squander" it on articles of civilian consumption. This concentration of effort was made easier through the suppression of liberal economies in the Axis countries and the establishment of collectivist totalitarian systems. For the accomplishment of this goal the state acquired full control over the economic life of the country and, in particular, over its foreign trade.

Several conclusions follow:

A policy of autarchy is a prelude to conquest; it should be regarded therefore as an unfriendly gesture, as a first step leading to violations of peace.

The use of international trade to accumulate stock-piles of strategic materials must be considered as illegitimate and must not be allowed to develop. It is necessary to distinguish between *trade for welfare* and *trade for war.* The Atlantic Declaration contains the first elements of such a distinction and there are good reasons to believe that future developments will go in that direction. The trouble in the thirties was not that some countries had insufficient access to raw materials: it was rather that some countries had too easy and plentiful and uncontrolled an access!

Totalitiarian regimes enable aggressive governments to gear their economy to war long before the actual outbreak of hostilities; they also greatly facilitate the reorientation of international trade from a peacetime, civilian basis to a war basis, and this also for years before the actual aggression starts. Hence it is the liberal rather than the collectivist regimes that are appropriate to a policy of peace.

International economic interdependence should be furthered not only in the interest of prosperity but also in the interest of collective security. Indeed, economic interdependence ought to be furthered even were it not economically profitable. As it happens, it is both. Never before has the argument for a free international trade and for a wide international division of labor been so forceful as it is now.

In one important respect the collective security of the future will have to differ from that provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The older system provided a mechanism that came into operation as soon as an act of military aggression was committed. But we know now that there is a good deal of economic as well as military preparation which precedes the actual attack. The collective security of tomorrow must prevent both the economic and the military armaments of any single power. The latter falls under the heading of disarmament and is closely connected with the establishment of an international police force. The former brings into operation the four sets of conclusions summarized above. The economic policies of individual countries must be geared for peace and prosperity, not for war. This principle restricts in various ways the sovereign powers of national governments and calls for international and even supranational policies and agencies. The new international system will have to provide for an effective economic integration of the world; it will have to aim at universal membership; and it will have to consider the quest of self-sufficiency as a first step leading toward future aggressions.

In certain respects the present war may render the economic weapons of collective security less effective in the future than they could have been—if properly used—in the past. Technical progress in the field of synthetic products may reduce economic interdependence in many cases. Whether this will happen, remains to be seen. Some of the substitutes may not prove cheap enough to be continued in production. Much will also depend upon the general attitude that will prevail regarding collective security, and this is a factor of great importance. Should the new system be weakly built and half-heartedly applied, then many countries will again seek their security at home by maintaining autarchic tendencies and developing the various aspects of economic nationalism. There the aggressors of the future will have their chance. A disintegrating world economy will enable them, once again, to prepare undisturbed for a new war of conquest.

The economic weapon alone is not sufficient to preserve peace; it is not a substitute for the maintenance of a military power, governed by the International Organization and intended to crush the aggressor. Both weapons have to be combined. The role of economic policy is dual, in this context: first, to prevent the "economic mobilization" by potential aggressors; secondly, to provide through collaboration among the defenders of law and through blockade against the breakers of peace, a powerful weapon to be used in case of a "shooting war."

PLANS
FOR THE FUTURE

In this issue we present the plans for the future emanating from an important United States Government agency. In the August number of FREE WORLD, *this section was opened with summaries of proposals made by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Inter-Bureau Committee on Post-War Planning of the Department of Agriculture, and Federal Union. The September section presented the Institute of Pacific Relations and the British Labor Party, and the October issue covered the proposals of the Central and Eastern European Planning Board. We shall continue to outline regularly the most important plans for world reconstruction and the organization of peace.*

VI—National Resources Planning Board

FREDERICK A. DELANO, *Chairman*
CHARLES E. MERRIAM, *Vice Chairman*
GEORGE F. YANTIS
HENRY S. DENNISON BEARDSLEY RUML
CHARLES W. ELIOT, *Director*

ACCORDING to a new form of executive organization set up in 1939, the National Resources Planning Board, which had been an active committee of the Federal Government since 1933, was established as the planning arm of the Executive Office of the President. In its report for 1942, called "National Resources Development," transmitted to Congress by President Roosevelt on January 14, 1942, as a companion document to the Budget of the United States, the Board summarized its previous activities and stated its basic purpose as modified by the war and as applied to the future:

"Since 1933 the Board has brought together and analyzed great masses of data regarding many of the important aspects of our national life—population, technological trends, research, land, water, energy resources, mineral resources, public works, urbanism, regionalism, long-time relief policies, industrial trends, the structure of the American economy—and has served as a clearing house for other data collected by city planning boards and by county, state, and regional agencies, all of which has been available to the planners for defense and war in various ways.

"The government and the people of the United States are determined that successful prosecution of the war shall be translated finally into terms of permanent improvement of the general welfare of all, and it is the firm purpose of the Board to leave no stone unturned in the organization of ways and means of making good this fixed purpose of the nation."

In attempting to define its new objective—that of securing, "through planning and cooperative action, a greater freedom for the American people," the Board's report sets forth the Four Freedoms as the "universals of human life" and adds an essential new declaration of personal rights. This has been called the Nine Freedoms. Any translation of freedom into modern terms applicable to the people of the United States here and now must include:

1. *The right to work,* usefully and creatively through the productive years;

2. *The right to fair pay,* adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service;

3. *The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care;*

4. *The right to security,* with freedom

from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;

5. *The right to live in a system of free enterprise,* free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;

6. *The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent,* free from the spyings of secret political police;

7. *The right to equality before the law,* with equal access to justice in fact;

8. *The right to education,* for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness; and

9. *The right to rest,* recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

Underlying this new declaration of rights is a new concept of the problem of our time: freedom and the distribution of abundance . . . "so that there may be no unemployment while there are adequate resources and men ready to work and in need of food, clothing, and shelter." With these new rights, the Board recognizes the accompanying responsibilities: "Obligations of the individual to use well his rights and to insist on the same rights for others, and obligations of the community to support and protect the institutions which make these rights actual."

The Domestic Field

IN the field of post-war planning, the Board recognizes that its special objectives lie in the domestic field. It has carried its purposes into action both by co-operation with other governmental agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Works Agency, and the Federal Security Agency, and by setting up committees of its own on such projects as the conservation of cultural resources. The Board's consultants have provided materials and technical advice for the solution of emergency and long-time problems of area analysis, public works, transportation, and community zoning, housing, and welfare.

Believing that a "positive program of post-war economic expansion and full employment, boldly conceived and vigorously pursued, is imperative" if the Democracies are going to lead the world out of chaos and insecurity, the Board has issued a series of pamphlets designed to bring both facts and proposals before the public. The first of these publications, prepared for the Board by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen and designed to lessen popular dread of a post-war collapse, is "After Defense—What?" Central objectives of post-defense planning are summarized as follows:

1. We must plan for full employment, for maintaining the national income at 100 billion dollars a year, at least, a point we shall reach by 1944, rather than to let it slip back to 80, or 70, or 60 billion dollars again. In other words, we shall plan to balance our national production-consumption budget at a high level with full employment, not at a low level with mass unemployment.

2. We must plan to do this without requiring work from youth who should be in school, the aged who should be relieved if they wish it, and women who choose to make their contribution in the home, and without asking anyone to work regularly in mines, factories, transportation, or offices more than 40 hours a week or 50 weeks a year, or to sacrifice the wage standards which have been set.

3. We must plan to decentralize post-defense emergency activities as far as possible; to use to the utmost our system of modified free enterprise with its voluntary employment, its special reward for effort, imagination, and improvement, its elasticity and competition; and to advance co-operatively under national and governmental leadership.

4. We must plan to enable every human being within our boundaries to realize progressively the promise of American life in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education, work, rest, home life, opportunity to advance, adventure, and the basic freedoms.

5. We must plan to make Up-Building America the keynote of the post-defense program, including both development of our national resources adding to the National Estate, and service activities, which will increase the vitality, health, skill, productivity, knowledge, and happiness of the American people, and thus together end unemployment and add to our wealth and well-being.

"After the War—Full Employment," a second pamphlet prepared for the Board by Dr. Hansen, takes up the specific problems raised by the gap which will occur after the war from curtailment of war expenditures. Components of the national income are apportioned, for illustrative purposes, as follows:

Components 1942 or 1944 income
(in billions; and at 1940 prices)

Consumption	$55
Net capital formation	5
War (including outlays for plant, equipment, and Lend-Lease)	40
Total national income	$100

Components of national income, 1950

Consumption	$90
Net capital formation (including public improvements, public housing, and International RFC)	15
Defense	5
Total	$110

The transitional period, during which efforts would be directed toward effecting a shift to the high consumption economy represented in the statistics for 1950, is similarly illustrated:

Post-war income components

Consumption	$80
Net capital formation (including public works and housing)	10
Defense (including International RFC)	10
Total	$100

These figures, which are provided not as valid statistical forecasts but merely as aids to analysis and formulation of policy, suggest certain conclusions concerning recommended post-war policies: (a) Retention of progressive (graduated) tax structure and broadened tax base, with major emphasis on the individual income tax and less reliance on the corporate income tax; (b) Sharp reduction in defense consumption taxes; (c) Adequate plans by private enterprise for private-investment projects in manufacturing plant and equipment, in railroads, public utilities, and housing; (d) Adequate program of public-improvement projects including a nation-wide development of national resources, express highways, urban redevelopment (involving among other things outlays in terminal facilities and reorganization of urban transportation), and a reorganized public housing program (including the setting up of a Housing Research Laboratory designed to reduce construction costs and thus enlarge the scope of private housing construction); (e) Expansion of public-welfare expenditures—Federal aid to education, public health, old-age pensions, and family allowances; (f) International collaboration to pursue internal policies designed to promote active employment; to explore developmental projects in backward countries; and to implement ways and means to open outlets for foreign investment, promote world trade, and the effective world-wide use of productive resources.

A third pamphlet issued by the Board is "Better Cities," prepared by Charles S. Ascher. It develops the suggestions made in previous publications which have to do with urban planning and concludes that we must set "as one of the aims for which a free people will fight, the remaking of American cities in our generation as places to live, work, play, and worship worthy of a democratic society."

Plans in the International Scene

BY agreement with the Department of State and the Board of Economic Warfare, which are the agencies primarily concerned with international post-war economic collaboration, the Board has centered its activities in domestic planning. Nevertheless it acknowledges the relation which exists between national and international policies. The report for 1942 announces: "From this point on the American people will never again make the mistake of believing that we can have prosperity while the rest of the world is at war; or freedom while the rest of the world is being enslaved. It is therefore assumed that after the war we shall make our international policy and the international behavior of American private interests conform to our desires for peace and the elevation of human dignity everywhere."

An indication of the interest of the Board in internationally co-operative projects is given in a technical paper prepared for the Board by Lewis Lorwin and published in August, 1941. This document, called "National Planning in Selected Countries," surveys public works and stabilization plans in operations in Germany, Sweden, and Latin America. Although the material is largely factual, some general proposals are made, particularly in respect to economic co-operation between the United States and Latin America. Emergency measures by which the United States may seek to bring Latin America into a system of inter-American economic co-operation by such devices as special commodity marketing agreements, special financial aid to meet the dislocations of world econ-

omy, and special arrangements for common action, are certainly called for; but they are not to be undertaken without the adoption also of long-range measures, which "have for their purpose the development and rebuilding of the national economies of the various Latin-American countries."

Another report by Mr. Lorwin, "International Economic Development—Public Works and Other Problems," which has been announced for release this fall, will undoubtedly make available further findings of the Board in this field. Meanwhile, its general attitude is on record in the following paragraphs from the report of 1942:

"Our foreign policy will have an important bearing upon our domestic employment program when peace returns. Through an extension of lend-lease we shall certainly help feed the starving peoples of Europe until they can again get on their feet. This will take all the food, shipping, trucks, and gasoline which we can muster, and will call for plans now for the organization of this unprecedented gift to humanity. There will be no time to lose when Hitler falls. Millions already are starving.

"After Europe's needs for food, clothing, and emergency medical care have been met, the peoples of Europe will be able to rebuild their own civilization. Perhaps then our greatest opportunity to help others economically will be found in Asia and in parts of North and South America, working in co-operation with the peoples and the governments of those lands. In all international dealings, however, we will have to remember that selling can only be maintained in the long run by buying. Trade is a two-way street."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

That the American people are not afraid of the post-war world is due, in no little part, to the sound planning and the educational program of such agencies as the National Resources Planning Board. With the accumulated experience of the war to supplement the lessons of the depression, the Board will undoubtedly find itself broadening its conception of the international basis of economic stability and placing more stress upon this aspect of its labors in public pronouncements.

Moreover, the authority given to these findings by their presentation to Congress by President Roosevelt along with the Budget, and the relatively long history of this agency, which removes it from the category of merely emergency institutions, reveal the prevalence in some governmental circles of the idea that plans for a better world society must rest firmly on sound and far-sighted domestic policies. Congress has the power not only to curtail such planning by budgetary limitation but to use the same control as a means of attack upon the Executive. The Board's program for 1943 has already been reduced by a Congressional cut in its appropriation. A six-year plan for public works and the beginning of a program for development of the public education system now lie on the shelf because of the reluctance of Congress to recognize the value of such projects. Fortunately, an exhaustive study of social security in the United States has been completed and its publication may do much to convince reactionary forces of the need of such research.

It is up to the public to know the work of the National Resources Planning Board and to inform Congress that measures which may have been considered experimental or even revolutionary in 1933 have been in successful operation for nearly a decade. The declaration of man's economic rights, the emphasis upon a permanent public works program, the assumption of national responsibility for full employment, the recognition of the dependence of prosperity in the United States upon world conditions—these must no longer be questions for political argument but principles assumed as prerequisites for survival.

THE UNDERGROUND REPORTER

A Year of Resistance—II

By G. K.

In the October issue of FREE WORLD, the Underground Reporter summarized the past year of resistance in the nazi-occupied countries of Europe. The collapse of attempts at "collaboration," the inception of movements of popular opposition, the organization of guerrilla warfare, and the activities of the underground press were described, and prospects for the future were outlined. This concluding report reveals anti-nazi efforts undertaken by other important groups in the submerged areas.

IN the present revolutionary movement, the youth, especially students, play a prominent role. The Parisian manifestation of November 11, 1940, was organized by students. On October 28, 1939, a demonstration in Czechoslovakia by students wearing the tricolor in lapels or on caps resulted in the killing of one youth by the police. The funeral was celebrated on November 15 by another demonstration and the singing of the Czech and Slovak national anthems.

The street protest meeting in Copenhagen in November, 1941, following the signing of the Anti-Comintern pact by Scavenius, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, the first manifestation in Denmark against collaboration with Germany, was organized by students. Likewise the first protests against the anti-Semitic policy of the Germans in the Netherlands and Norway were made by students with the support of professors. In Luxemburg, when the Germans razed the Monument du Souvenir, a memorial erected in tribute to 3,000 volunteers who fell on the side of the Allies in the first World War, hundreds of furious students attempted to prevent the destruction. The crowd was brutally dispersed by the German police; many youths were arrested, and many injured.

Ministers of various religious denominations and teachers also carry out an important role. Their action is directed in general not against the occupation and the occupying power as such, but against the local Nazis and their attempts at nazification of the churches and the educational system. Particularly strong during 1941-42 was the resistance of the Church in Belgium, Norway, Holland, and some centers of unoccupied France. This opposition and the repression which followed it had great moral influence in stimulating the resistance of the general population.

The fight of the Norwegian schoolteachers deserves special attention. This struggle began in February, 1942, when Quisling, seeking to establish a totalitarian unit with all Norwegian teachers as members, issued a decree calling for a Nazi Teachers Front. An additional decree compelled all children from ten to eighteen years of age to enter the Nazi Youth Movement. Twelve thousand of the country's fifteen thousand teachers refused to accept the decree. Against Quisling's order that those who rebelled would lose pay and be sent to compulsory labor in the Arctic Circle, the teachers stood fast. The schools were closed; hundreds of teachers were arrested and deported; children and parents thronged towns, villages, and railway stations through which the prisoners were herded, openly cheering and shouting encouragement. By the end of March, 1,300 teachers were laboring in prison camps and airdromes and on Arctic roads. After Easter, when the schools were to be reopened, most of them remained closed because there were no teachers. The few who were still free read the following declaration in their classrooms:

> I reaffirm my protest against the Teachers Front. . . . The teacher's vocation is not only to give children knowledge; . . . he must also teach children to believe in and desire that which is true and just. He is therefore unable to teach anything in conflict with his conscience.

Schoolchildren manifest their support of their teachers by writing their names on the walls coupled with that of King Haakon; and they scrawl the word, "Cain," over the pictures of Quisling which are placed by law on all classroom walls.

Children in Prague have developed their own ways of expressing their attitude toward the Germans. In a certain marionette show, the children were asked what wish they wanted to be granted by the fairies. "Freedom! Republic!" was the answer. During an official greeting organized for "Protector" von Neurath, Czechoslovakian girls lined up by the authorities to demonstrate popular admiration, turned their backs on the official party passing through the street and threw the flowers intended for the Protector toward the ancient Czech castle, symbol of national freedom. Dutch children, we read in a report from Holland, have become adept in a new sport—the smashing of windows in houses of Dutch Nazis.

Secret Schools

UNDERGROUND education constitutes an important counter-activity in Europe, especially in countries where, as in Poland, the occupying authorities have destroyed all high schools, colleges, and universities, according to the theory that elementary schools are sufficient for modern slaves. A complete system of unauthorized education, mainly in the form of self-education, has been organized. People gather in small groups to study under the guidance of professional teachers; all stages of higher education, from high school through the university, are represented. Illegally printed booklets and manuals serve for texts, and whatever Polish books have escaped German suppression are carefully preserved and handed down from person to person. Even a sort of underground school administration has been set up to direct and unify the work. Similar groups have been organizing in Czechoslovakia. Of course, this clandestine education is insufficient for the needs of the population and it is subject to severe persecution by the Nazis. In Holland, in the fall of 1941, when Jewish pupils were expelled from the schools, illegal groups were created to give these children equivalent education under the direction of regular teachers.

In Belgium, with its strong communal life and autonomy, the resistance of elected municipal authorities has become an important factor. The proud farewell of the Burgomaster of Brussels, F. J. Van de meulebroeck, dismissed by the Germans in the summer of 1941, was printed as a poster and widely distributed throughout the country. The example of burgomasters who submitted to arrest rather than recognize the illegal acts of the occupying authorities, strengthened popular defiance and made it impossible for the Germans to utilize institutions of local government for the purpose of their administration.

Peasantry

THE resistance of the peasantry to the economic policy of the exploiters is less well known but highly important. This form of obstruction is simply the hiding of food and crops which are destined for the authorities, according to the German plan of spoliation and robbery of agricultural products and slaughter of livestock. In the ingenious methods of hiding food, the shrewdness of the peasant is matched against the brutality of the Nazis.

The black market, the prevailing form of underground economic activity in Europe, is based upon the peasants' battle against the nazi economy. Sometimes the farmers are responsible for more aggressive measures, especially in Eastern Europe. In the fall of 1941, German papers published in the Polish language in Warsaw reported a veritable epidemic of fires. For instance, in the village of Chadzyn, a conflagration which lasted only one night destroyed twenty-two barns with all of this year's harvest, nine cows, two horses, and ten pigs. The following statement of the German journal, *Breslauer Neueste Nachrichten,* applies not only to Poland, but also to Yugoslavia, the Ukraine, and other occupied regions of Eastern Europe:

> It is not possible to collect the harvest in accordance with disciplined German procedure, nor, therefore, to build up any orderly marketing, unless we have the intention of setting a policeman behind every Polish peasant's hut.

Industrial Sabotage

FROM the point of view of obstruction of nazi domination, the most effective social group are the workers. The "invisible" or "passive" sabotage of industrial production all over Europe is, without doubt, the underground's most dangerous weapon. The "P" campaign, inaugurated in Czechoslovakia and named from the Czech word *Pomalu,* which means "slowly," has adopted the turtle as its symbol. In Warsaw, "unknown" hands paint large turtles in chalk, coal, or tar on walls, fences, and pavements. Below each turtle are the words, "Work slowly."

Machines are used as silent accomplices. What can the most skillful Gestapo agent discover from a machine which wears out soon after it is installed and thus delays the output of a whole factory for two or three

weeks? What can he report when a new engine is sent back for repairs on its second day of work? There are other means of slowing down production. A special messenger brought an important order to a factory. More than a week later, not only the order but also the attached plans were lost. Another factory lost a cancellation order and valuable raw materials were wasted during two months of misdirected production. A Czechoslovakian factory, which was once remarkable for accuracy, turned out 199 faulty castings for airplane motors out of an order for 200.

Methods of factory sabotage are various. Some workers carry sand or graphite in their pockets; when a handful is inserted under a fuse, the bomb will never explode. The Valdes factory in Prague installed a special section equipped with expensive and complicated automatic machinery for the manufacture of ammunition belts for machine guns. The whole section went up in flames after the first three or four belts rolled out. Pretending compliance with the anti-slowness campaign of the Gestapo, the Czechoslovak workers ran the machines so fast that the whole factory caught fire. The Sochor factory in Kraluv Dvur, which specializes in underwear for the nazi armies in Russia, was overheated and burned to the ground. (A related episode is that of the mass burning of woolen clothing intended for the German soldiers, in Poland on Christmas Eve, 1941.)

Industrial sabotage is not limited to the occupied countries. On a more limited scale, it goes on in Germany itself. With the infiltration of foreign workers in Germany—one out of every four workers in Germany is now a foreigner, and the percentage is rising—the P campaign is under way inside the factories of the Reich. In a recent report given out by French workers returning to unoccupied France from employment in Germany, published by the International Transport Workers' Federation, it is revealed that illegal groups of three to five anti-nazi workers are operating in numerous industrial plants in Germany. German workers and foreign workers of various nationalities are co-operating, despite ruthless efforts at prevention on the part of the Gestapo.

What are the total results of this movement? An exact evaluation is, of course, impossible. In Czechoslovakia, it is estimated, production has been reduced by 40 per cent. According to the findings of the Round Table discussion in FREE WORLD, European production as a whole is 20 to 30 per cent below normal.

There is no sharp demarcation between passive and active sabotage, between the slowing down of production and the blowing up of factories, between the turning aside of train cars and the organization of train collisions. An "accident" in the Skoda Works in Czechoslovakia is a characteristic instance. At the exact moment when twenty-two members of a German Army Commission walked under a crane, a huge cauldron of molten lead was overturned, and fourteen Germans were killed. Immediately after the accident, the crane operator jumped from a height of seventy-five feet and

EN MARGE DU PROCES DE RIOM

LES COMMUNISTES ET NOUS

Visages de la France

Ici... et en face

Chez les instituteurs

« Humanité » hitlérienne

NE DETRUISEZ PAS « LE POPULAIRE ». FAITES-LE CIRCULER

Above is the front page of the issue of the underground socialist paper, *Le Populaire,* which published the speech delivered by Léon Blum at his trial in Riom.

smashed his head on the pavement below.

Working on the Railroad

RAILWAYMEN have a strategic function in sabotage. In France, they perform miracles of ingenuity in establishing regular communications between the occupied and unoccupied zones in order to facilitate the passage of Englishmen, escaped prisoners, and mail. Another example of sabotage carried out by French railwaymen was the obstruction of a shipment of seed drills on its way to Germany for use in Ukrainian agriculture. Each machine, which was capable of sowing twenty to thirty rows of wheat or rye at one time, had a geared mechanism, more fragile than the rest of the machine, for depositing seed and fertilizer at correct intervals. These mechanisms, which had been placed in a single car of the train, were put on a siding for repairs on a wheel bearing. Surreptitiously a car of pottery was substituted. When the train laden with seed drills arrived in the Ukraine, the machines were useless.

In view of the tremendous importance and the strained condition of the railway system operated by the Nazis, blows aimed to disorganize communications are powerfully effective. Recent instances of railroad collisions in Europe demonstrate this fact. During the night of August 7, 1942, a German military train was wrecked near Rotterdam; many nazi soldiers were killed, and five Dutch hostages were murdered in reprisal. In the same week, near Groningen, a German troop train collided with another train. On the railway between Douai and Arras, a German troop train was sidetracked into a fuel train, and in the same week in Paris, an ammunition train blew up.

In Czechoslovakia, an impaired track derailed a train carrying soldiers. Near Opava, a troop train and an express collided, and two days later another smashed into a workmen's train at Plán, in western Bohemia. Fires occurred in two railway stations in Oslo on the evening of the day on which Quisling was proclaimed Prime Minister of Norway; the fire at the Ostabanestasjonen lasted more than six hours, the main part of the depot was completely destroyed, and all but two or three of the twelve tracks were put out of commission. In Yugoslavia, on August 15, the Zagreb-Belgrade express, between Krisa and Propavca, forty miles southeast of Zagreb, was wrecked; twenty-one persons were killed and thirty-two injured. In the same period, the Belgrade-Salonika Railroad was cut at three points. Accidents due to sabotage are frequent also in Italy. Between Faenza and Florence, a German train was derailed by unknown "criminals"; between Verona and Brenner several trains loaded with products bound for Germany were damaged.

These accidents result in loss to Germany of lives, time, and goods. A record of all of them in Europe during the last year would compose an entire book. Of course, not all of them are due to sabotage, as the Germans represent in order to justify terroristic reprisals; many must be attributed to the pitiful condition of the railways and of the material and to the

L'anifeste pour le 14 juillet 1942. 3

PREPAREZ-VOUS !

Soyez agissants. Il faut convaincre vos voisins, décider vos amis, entraîner vos camarades.

Le 14 juillet 1942, à 18 heures, des fleurs, des rubans tricolores, des hymnes patriotiques. De la foi et du courage !

AUX PATRIOTES !

Le jeudi 28 mai dernier, celui qui s'est arrogé le droit de gouverner la France, osa dire dans un village de l'Indre, aux troupes de l'Armistice qu'il passait en revue : "Le pays doit savoir que nous avons été battus. Depuis deux ans, je me le répète à moi-même tous les matins".

Laissons à ces vieillards leurs âmes de vaincus !

Patriotes, relevons la tête ! Secouons la dictature des traîtres ! Travaillons à la libération du pays ! Pensons au génie de la France éternelle ! Tous à l'ouvrage avec confiance ! Tous à l'oeuvre pour s'élève de notre sol, en ce 14 juillet 1942, le puissant souffle de la Liberté !

VIVE LA FRANCE !

Le Front National de Lutte pour l'Indépendance de la France.

UN EXEMPLE DE DIFFUSION DES MOTS D'ORDRE :

Sur tous les billets de banque qui passent entre vos mains, écrivez :

VIVE LA LIBERTE ! VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE !

Pour le 14 juillet 1942, organisez-vous !

Reproduction of a page of a mimeographed pamphlet published by the National Front on the Fourteenth of July and distributed by the underground movement, calling for participation in the revolt against Vichy.

lack of personnel. But an important percentage are the product of intentional, organized counter-activity.

Violence vs. *Violence*

ALL kinds of industrial and military establishments are objectives in this warfare. The following instances date from the late summer of this year. Bombs planted on the North Canal at Aisne in occupied France blasted the hinges off the gates and blocked Paris-bound traffic for forty-eight hours. In the Parisian suburb of Chelles, bombs were hurled at the German Labor Recruiting Bureau. Grenades lobbed into a group of sixty German aviators exercising on the running track in the Bouin Stadium in northwest Paris killed two and wounded eighteen; the attackers escaped through a cordon of police thrown around the park.

Belgian patriots, in an attack upon a German airdrome in the Liége district, killed sixteen Germans and burned four planes. In a mine near Marcinelle, near the French border, twenty armed Belgians overpowered German guards and destroyed a considerable quantity of explosives. In Holland, a 1,000-ton Rhine barge, lunging against a closed lock in the Juliana Canal near Maastricht in the southern part of the country, rammed through the gate, killed several persons, and blocked the canal in such a way that regular coal transports to Germany could not proceed. A violent explosion in Oslo on the morning of August 21 partially destroyed a building of the Workers Syndicate in which Norwegian police had recently been installed.

The latest country to adopt the methods of sabotage is Denmark. This work is carried on, according to German sources, by Danish parachutists dropped at frequent intervals by the Royal Air Force. Bombing of electrical installations and cutting of military telephone cables have increased to what the Germans call "abnormal proportions." The population assists these "para-saboteurs."

Overt Resistance

CONNECTED with these more or less covert forms of sabotage is the direct murder of German officials and soldiers and of native traitors. There is no corner of Europe where incidents of this kind do not happen at fairly regular intervals. German soldiers are afraid to walk at night on the streets of the smaller towns or in the suburbs of the capitals. These executions are often spontaneous acts; an unaccompanied German soldier is too good an occasion to be missed.

The killing of Quislings and traitors—or of important German officials—is in general the result of systematically organized action; but sometimes it may be a purely individual act, as seems to be the case with the attempt of Paul Colette against Pierre Laval and Marcel Déat on August 27, 1941. This attempt loosed a veritable flood of terrorism in France against French fascists and German agents. The most important of these acts was the killing of Paringot, Director of the Sureté Publique, on January 5, 1942. In France, during the last months, terrorist acts have been perpetrated by teams of cyclists who disappear immediately, with the result that police supervision of cyclists has been reinforced.

Another form of resistance showing the passage from secret underground activity or "invisible sabotage" to open action consists of strikes and food riots, which take place from time to time in Western Europe. In Antwerp, for example, Belgian housewives staged a hunger demonstration in protest against inadequate food supplies. Carrying banners with the inscription, "We want coal and potatoes, more bread, milk, and fat," they marched into the Town Hall. Their delegation, which tried to hand in a petition, was arrested. Within Germany, in Hamburg, on the night of June 12, several hundred men and women, discontented with the shortages of food and with uneven distribution, tried to rush upon a market place. Police dispersing the crowd killed twenty-four men and three women.

A number of strikes occurred as a first reaction to nazi control. In the fall of 1941, miners in the northern coal basin of France struck, and strikes have been frequent in unoccupied France. After the first anti-Semitic measures in Holland, an almost general strike of two days took place. Numerous strikes in Norway followed the first attempts at nazification of labor organizations. These strikes exploded as a result of food shortages and salaries below a living wage; and the brutal measures of suppression resulted in impressive numbers of victims.

It is very difficult to estimate exactly the influence of terrorism on the German military machine. It has moral influence, but it is the most costly method of resistance because the repression is ferocious. The results are relatively small when compared with the price paid; new Germans and new Quislings will replace those killed. Therefore, underground organizations in general advise their members and followers to avoid acts of individual terrorism and overt measures until the moment comes when it will be possible to start a more general movement. Of course, this forbearance does not operate toward the *agents-provacateurs* within the underground movement. Self-defense against them is the prerequisite of life for an illegal organization.

BOOKS

THE GREAT OFFENSIVE, by Max Werner. VI + 360 pages, Viking; $3.00

The swelling volume of popular agitation for the opening of a second front in Europe is an indication of a widespread and growing suspicion that not all the United Nations' military leaders have visualized the conduct of the war in terms of a unified "Grand Strategy." Such a feeling will be intensified by Max Werner's brilliant analysis of the strategic requirements for a United Nations' victory. By all odds this is the best book of its type which has yet appeared, and it fully merits the praise which some critics have already given it.

Basically, Mr. Werner's book is a penetrating analysis of the strategy of the first year of the Nazi-Soviet war. As such, it should be a sheer delight to the layman whose attempts to follow fragmentary newspaper accounts have only led him deeper into a fog of unfamiliar and forbidding place names.

First of all, the author demolishes quickly and with finality any lingering vestiges of belief that the Soviet Union, having striven to remain at peace by signing the nonagression pact of August, 1939, was taken totally by surprise by the sudden launching of the nazi attack in the summer of 1941. Mr. Werner shows clearly—and his book bristles with quotations from innumerable sources—that, from the outset, the Soviets knew that they were only buying time, and that it was incumbent upon them to make feverish preparations for the inevitable blow.

Mr. Werner does not overly criticize the nazi decision to launch an attack upon Russia rather than to undertake an all-out invasion of Britain. He says simply that "The attack on the Soviet Union was an act of the peculiar policy of security by aggression of German Fascist imperialism. Without having vanquished Russia, Hitler regarded all his previous successes and all his possible future conquests as tenuous and ephemeral. Only the victory over Russia would give security to all these conquests. According to Hitler's estimation he could have anything once he had Russia, and he would have nothing without having Russia."

A second illusion which this book dispels is the persistent belief that the phenomenal resistance of the Russian armies was due merely to the fanatical bravery of the sodiers and the immense population reservoir from which shattered armies could quickly be reformed. The author gives due credit to both these factors, but he then proceeds to set forth in chapters of lucid analysis the boldness and the brilliance of Russian strategic tactics. One finishes these chapters with a feeling of tremendous admiration for the men who, faced with the need for solving the problem of the *Blitzkrieg,* succeeded where all others had failed. Equally striking is the author's demonstration of the complete lack of versatility on the part of the nazi high commanders who failed to realize the impossibility of using the *Blitz* technique against Russia. (The author's comment: "Between two powerful mass armies, armed with modern fighting equipment, there can be no such thing as *Blitzkrieg.*") Further, the nazi General Staff never seems to have understood until too late, when the war had ceased to be a war of motion and had become a war of position, the essential character of the skillful Russian "defense in depth" tactics of the 1941 summer campaign.

But, although the analysis of the Russian campaign is of compelling interest, there is a more important lesson in the concluding portion of the book which is devoted to the problems of future grand strategy against the Axis. This point, which the author makes in a telling fashion, is the impossibility of achieving success without the development of a true spirit of coalition on the part of the United Nations. Sharply critical of the separate military efforts and separate strategies of Russia, China, Britain, and the United States, he says flatly that in 1942, "it was not the Russian retreat, not the lost campaign in the Pacific, not the British defeats in the Middle East, that were most threatening, but the delay in coalition planning." He is fearful that the United States will substitute "technology for strategy," and will tend so to rely on increasing industrial production that the necessary steps in the founding of a true coalition may be delayed even longer. On this point he is adamant: without coalition and the unified planning of strategy there can be no victory. It is to be hoped that the book will be read, not merely by civilian reviewers, but by the busy men in uniform in London, Washington, and Moscow.

G. K.

BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE, by Paul L Hanna. 214 *pages. American Council on Public Affairs;* $3.50

The history of British policy in regards to Palestine has been one of power politics, opportunism, and vacillation, from the second of November, 1917, when the British Government found it politically expedient to issue the Balfour Declaration which, in deliberately ambiguous terms, offered Jews the opportunity to establish a state in Palestine, to May 17, 1939, when, in that orgy of appeasement climaxed by Munich, the Chamberlain Cabinet issued the latest of its White Papers stating that "His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state." In fact, the chicanery which characterized the official handling of this question began even before the Balfour Declaration was issued. On September 19, 1917, the British Cabinet submitted to President Wilson what it called the final draft of its declaration. This stated:

> (1) His Majesty's Government accept the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.
>
> (2) His Majesty's Government will use their best endeavors to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist organization.

Wilson approved this text and the other Allied Governments were informed that, if there were no objections, it would be made public immediately. There were no objections. Nevertheless, on October 10, a new version was cabled to Washington. It was the text of the famous declaration which was to be sent as a letter from Lord Balfour, then Minister of Foreign Affairs in the War Cabinet, to Lord Rothschild stating:

> I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with the Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.
>
> His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

President Wilson immediately pointed out that the statement contained an unnecessary qualification of the intentions of the Allies, full of "weasel words" which were open to limitless misinterpretations. He was assured, however, that the changes were merely verbal, made as a concession to the wealthy and influential Jewish assimilationists who feared that the existence of a Jewish state, in which they were not interested, would jeopardize their status as citizens of other countries. The phrase concerning the civil and religious rights of non-Jews, it was pointed out, was inserted at the request of the Zionist leaders who wished to avow that in their day of power they would not impose upon other minorities the disabilities which their people had endured for two thousand years. Under the circumstances Wilson could not insist on the earlier text.

"Anti-Zionist opposition," explains Mr. Hanna, "resulted in the declaration referring only to the *creation in* Palestine of *a* Jewish national home and not to the *reconstitution of* Palestine as *the* Jewish national home. . . . The British public adopted Zionism and interpreted the national home as a Jewish state in embryo. Lloyd George summed up the contemporary interpretation by saying: 'The idea was . . . that a Jewish State was not to be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth.'"

Similar interpretative statements were made by every prominent British statesman, including Winston Churchill and Neville Chamberlain, accepting the Jewish National Home as a synonym for the Jewish state. In the United States that interpretation was taken for granted and voiced by Congress in a resolution ratifying the Declaration. In the light of subsequent events, an understanding of the Balfour Declaration, its origins and intentions, is of the utmost importance and it is regrettable that Mr. Hanna does not present the facts in the detailed fashion that is characteristic of his treatment of other phases of the question.

His chapter on the peace settlement, on the other hand, is particularly enlightening, clarifying the conflicting interests of England and France in the Near East and revealing how greatly the machinations of power politics af-

fected the decisions regarding Palestine. One of the most important of these was the first of a series of amputations which reduced Palestine to one-sixth of the territory originally assigned to it. The Peace Conference had plotted a Palestine of some 60,000 square miles bounded on the north by Syria, on the east by Iraq, on the south by Saudi and the Hejaz, on the west by the sea and Egypt. But the British Government suddenly turned over to Syria some 16,000 square miles of territory, including some of the most necessary land for industrial and agricultural development. President Wilson, sick and impotent, cabled his protest to the British. It was in vain.

This "partition" of Palestine followed on the heels of the first Arab riots and it encouraged the primitive people in the conclusion that recourse to violence would bring greater and greater concessions. Throughout the years that followed, the world was amazed by the paradox that the British Empire could keep hundreds of millions of natives in subjection in India and in Africa but found itself impotent in the face of lawless tactics by a few thousand subsidized terrorists. The unriddling of this paradox is found in the pages of Mr. Hanna's book. By a wealth of documentary material, the author substantiates the charge that the officials of the Colonial and War Ministries in England were from the first opposed to the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. They regarded the issuance of the Balfour Declaration as a measure of political expediency during the last war, to be cast aside when these political needs were no longer urgent; they were callously indifferent to the effects of their action on the fate of the Jews; they were as little moved by considerations of honor as of humanity. The pity of it lies in the fact that the tragedy which they inflicted on the Jews has served neither the military nor the imperial interests of Great Britain. Today Palestine is not a citadel of Jewish democracy on the side of the Allies, but a powder keg of Arab sabotage against effective prosecution of the war.

Mr. Hanna's work is timely and necessary to an understanding of the problem that will have to be solved at the next peace conference. It has the defects of an academic treatment of controversial subjects. It is far too lenient toward all who are guilty in the fiasco of Palestine—toward the British imperialists and the Arab would-be imperialists, toward the German and Italian politicians who fomented the Arab revolts and their native mercenaries, and toward the timorous and submissive Zionist leaders whose responsibility for the course of events in Palestine is almost as great as that of the others.

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

SABOTAGE! THE SECRET WAR AGAINST AMERICA, by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. 266 pages. Harper & Bros.; $2.50

This is the story of sabotage in the United States, physical and psychological. One of the authors left his regular occupation to study and write about the Axis Fifth Column; the other was Executive Secretary of the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda and is editor of *The Hour,* a confidential news letter devoted to the investigation and exposure of Axis Fifth Column activities. Their book is an excellent job.

Part I deals with physical sabotage and our own counter-sabotage activities. It includes sufficient history of Germany's underhanded work here during the war of 1914-1918 to remind us that this has all been done before and to show what widespread loss and destruction trained saboteurs can cause. But pages 111 to 119 are close-packed with brief accounts of mysterious accidents and disasters that occurred in 1941, and traces their origin. This list is shocking.

Even more interesting is the second part of the book which discusses psychological sabotage —the secret offensive against the United States in which tricked dupes who hated President Roosevelt or wanted to avoid war were utilized to pull the Nazis' chestnuts out of the fire. The head and brains of this work in the United States was George Sylvester Viereck. A masterful chapter analyzes the America First movement and all its activities and permutations before and after we ourselves actively entered the war.

The book concludes with an encouraging chapter entitled America Strikes Back which recounts how many spies and saboteurs were seized, tried, convicted, and punished by the proper agencies of our Government. But the distressing fact remains that we were and still are shockingly lenient to others who were quite as guilty as any of those we condemned.

A further reflection also occurs to the reader. Many of the persons used as tools by shrewd nazi agents were high in American Government circles, the legislative branch particularly. To put the best light on the matter, these men were loyal Americans who permitted themselves to be duped; that means nothing less than that they were extraordinarily stupid. The only alternative is to hold that they did what they did deliberately which means they came close to treason. In either case they are unfit to hold high government office today. Yet they retain such office. Not only have they not been repudiated by the electorate; in several cases the voters have gone out of the way to condone their mental derelictions and have endorsed them for return to office. That fact is probably

the most ominous indication of threatened democracy evident in the book.

Subversive activities accompany all wars. They were widespread in the Revolutionary and in the Civil War. They have become streamlined today and the most modernized techniques are used, but it is still the same old thing. To be properly informed all citizens should read this exciting account of the dirt immediately underground.

T. SWANN HARDING

THE COMING AGE OF WORLD CONTROL, by Nicholas Doman. x + 301 pages. Harper; $3.00

The appalling destruction and slaughter of war have always stimulated men to thought concerning ways and means whereby human society could be so organized as to banish this most destructive of all plagues from the earth. Among the many new analyses and proposals evoked by the present conflict few have faced the fundamental issues involved in the organization of peace so uncompromisingly and so clearly as this work of a young Hungarian scholar now domiciled in the United States. Dr. Doman believes that peace can never be assured until or unless a genuine superstate possessing a monopoly of physical force can be created. Regional groupings or broadly international federations will fail in the future as they have in the past because they do not centralize force in a degree which renders the central organization competent to deal with the disruptive forces of nationalism. Sovereignty, nationalism, small states—all these must disappear or be reshaped to meet the fundamental needs of a world society.

It is difficult to quarrel with the basic thesis of this book for the record tends to bear out the interpretation presented. This particular reviewer does believe that the author has in many instances overlooked or minimized the tremendous obstacles which must be overcome before such a world society can be born. On the other hand, progress must be based quite as much upon the awareness of the goal desired as upon a consciousness of the difficulties to be surmounted. And the former is the thesis of this useful book.

G. K.

THE DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, by Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg. XXVI + 358 pages. Harper; $3.00

The authors of this book have been entirely too modest in their own estimate of their achievement. They have actually presented one

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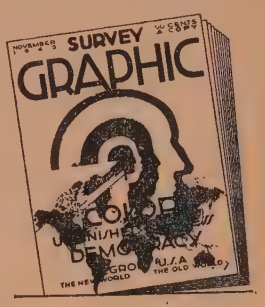
Find your way about in a world predominantly non-white by reading COLOR: UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY, special number of *Survey Graphic* for November. Part one centers on the problems of Negroes, U. S. A. in wartime America—Part two on the Challenge of Color in the New World and the Old. In more than one hundred pages of maps, drawings, photographs and text twenty-one journalists, scientists, artists, spokesmen for races and regions come to grips with race issues, discrimination, trends in the South, Mexico and its Indians, Brazil and its race equality, the Pacific basin and the future, India, colonialism, China and other controversial, timely issues.



The distinguished contributors include Pearl Buck, Lin Yutang, Herbert Agar, Ben Azikiwe, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Jonathan Daniels, Syud Hossain, Alain Locke, Ezequiel Padilla, A. Phillip Randolph, Walter White.

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of the most important studies of the American labor field ever published, a study based on thorough knowledge of the facts combined with intimate experiences in their field of research.

Begun almost as a case book of union problems, this work gradually develops a pattern and a philosophy which challenge both the prejudices of the partisans of the *status quo* and the equally biased beliefs of doctrinaire reformers. The authors are not discouraged by the antagonism and strife which have characterized labor and management relations during the past decade. They consider it a transitional period out of which there is emerging a new era in industrial relations, one in which both of the forces in industry will achieve a certain operational unity for the attainment of common objectives. They point to sufficient advantages in intelligent union-management co-operation to prove to both labor and capital that a sane approach to their common problems, based on a broad democratic policy, is more profitable and —what is of far greater importance to future society—more decent.

ECONOMIC TRIBULATION, by V. C. Vickers. 58 *pages. Free Economy Publishing Co., San Antonio, Texas;* $1.00

This paper-bound pamphlet is by a former Governor of the Bank of England who resigned in 1919 and devoted himself thereafter largely to economic reform. He is another author who realizes that our monetary system has been rendered obsolete by technological and scientific progress. He holds that debt and fear of indebtedness, lack of capital, and inadequate purchasing power hamstring productive industry. Further, we do not possess a true and honest measure of value. The book ends with eight propositions that embody the generalized honest-money program the author advocates. No. 2 perhaps best gives the key by saying that the volume of available credit and currency must be so regulated by the State that it will at all times be adequate to permit consumer purchasing power to absorb the volume of production at capacity after equating the two.

WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN EASTERN ASIA, by Claude A. Buss. 570 *pages. Macmillan;* $5.00

As a former member of the United States Diplomatic Corps in the Far East and Executive Assistant to the High Commissioner of the Philippines, Professor Buss is well qualified to discuss the diplomatic history of recent years in that area. The historical background presented in his work explains the stakes involved in the struggle between Japan and China and lays special emphasis on the effects of that struggle upon the interests of the other great powers. He takes a realistic view of these interests, a view which is summed up in the following eloquent passage: "The politics of national interests usually imply a meanness of outlook and narrowness of vision. But the nation which rides roughshod over the rights of others, or gives no consideration to counterclaims of opponents, is digging its own political grave. Its friends are of the sunny weather variety and its enemies are bitter when crises approach. The interest of 'good will' is as vital to governments as it is to businessmen." Out of his extended experience Professor Buss recommends the application of collective security as the only solution to the intricate problems of international rivalry. The book has an excellent bibliography and index.

HOW WAR CAME, by Forrest Davis and Ernest K. Lindley. viii + 342 pages. Simon and Schuster; $2.50

This is a first-rate journalistic account of our first six months at war and of our policies toward the world during the two years which preceded the fateful "Black Sunday" at Pearl Harbor. Written in a spirited style and making use of atmospheric information not hitherto available to the general public, the book is excellent reading.

In general, the authors are warmly sympathetic to the course of our recent policy as it has been developed and maintained by President Roosevelt. But this sympathy has led them to adopt an uncritical attitude toward the errors of omission and commission by which our State Department has often invalidated this policy. Nevertheless, their account is more free from bias, and far more absorbing, than any which will be written on this subject a couple of decades hence by youthful scholars who will suddenly proclaim that we were led willy-nilly into war by subtle machinations of an international gang of munitions makers, or by some such personal devils.

GEOPOLITIK—DOCTRINE OF NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND EMPIRE, by Johannes Mattern. 139 *pages. Johns Hopkins;* $2.00

The author of this treatise announces his dissatisfaction with previously published and mainly journalistic accounts of the origin and beliefs of geopoliticians. After a brief review of such accounts he proceeds to a scholarly and rather boring exposition of his own, interlarded with sections that simmer down to little more than book lists.

A Check List of Books on International Affairs

•

NOT AGAIN IN VAIN, by Clarence Streit. Harper. The author of "Union Now" explains his plan for a United States of the world, gives the basic Union Now philosophy and methods, and shows why the program is needed to win the war and an enduring peace.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1941. AN ANNUAL SURVEY: NO. 1, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. Columbia. Principal developments in cultural relations, social welfare, public health, and labor as well as politics, diplomacy, economics, and finance—in Canada, the United States, and the twenty republics of Latin America.

A LATIN AMERICAN SPEAKS, by Luis Quintanilla. Macmillan. The Counselor of the Mexican Embassy in Washington writes of the two Americas and their joint concern with world affairs; their common interests and the misunderstandings between them.

VICTORY IS NOT ENOUGH: THE STRATEGY FOR A LASTING PEACE, by Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer. Norton. Comment on the crucial problems of the next peace to show how they will be different from those of the last, how evil done by Nazis can be turned to good ends, and how peace can be organized despite aggressor nations.

WHAT WE FIGHT FOR IN THE PACIFIC, by Nathaniel Peffer. Harper. Given a victory in the war and foresight in the making of the peace, we can save ourselves from a fate in the Far East such as hung over Europe for centuries.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE NATIONS, by Christopher Dawson. Sheed & Ward. An analysis of the roots of the present world conflict, with suggestions for a type of post-war settlement that would make its recurrence impossible.

LET THE PEOPLE KNOW, by Norman Angell. Viking. Final decisions in politics are made by the average busy citizens. An answer to the question of whether the voter can make the right decisions. How a common guarantee of rights can be applied to shape the future to our own good ends.

AND KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY! by Margaret Mead. Morrow. A scientific analysis

A Literary Announcement of the First Importance

THE NEW NOVEL

by Pearl S. Buck

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A new illustrated magazine, THE PEOPLE'S WAR, begins publication this month. Its declared purpose is to help win the war quickly and to stimulate planning and action toward a just peace.

It is edited with the co-operation and support of such agencies as the Free World Association, the Friends of Democracy, the National Education Association, various farm and labor groups, the International Student Service, the American Newspaper Guild, the Co-operative League of the U. S. A., and the Office of War Information, and the information services of our Allies.

THE PEOPLE'S WAR will appear every two weeks, with one-third of its 64 pages given to photographs, cartoons, and pictographs. It will include original articles and features, extracts from official documents, and reprints of material from magazines, newspapers, and many special sources, including the underground papers of Europe.

The editors of the PEOPLE'S WAR are Rev. L. M. Birkhead, National Director of Friends of Democracy; Stuart Cloete, author; Kenneth M. Gould, editor of SCHOLASTIC; Walter E. Myer, editor of the AMERICAN OBSERVER; and Prof. Atwood H. Townsend of New York University.

Among the articles in the first issue are "The Issue Is Freedom," Eleanor Roosevelt; "The Century of the Common Man," Henry A. Wallace; "War Is Hell," various official sources; "Your Constitution and Ours," Jan Struther; "The Soviets and Us," Samuel Grafton; "More Coffee for your Money," Consumers Union; "American Labor Has a Good Record," James A. Weschler; "Vote for Freedom, Not for Foolishness," Rev. L. M. Birkhead; "The War about the Peace," Lin Yutang.

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of the American character by an anthropologist, pointing out our national strengths and weaknesses and suggesting how they can best be used to help win the war and reorganize the post-war world.

CIVILIAN MORALE, edited by Goodwin Watson. Reynal & Hitchcock. Report by various authors on scientific investigation of morale, its theory and development. The editor is chief analyst for the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service of the Federal Communications Commission.

THE FINANCIAL FIFTH COLUMN, by Guenther Reimann. Vanguard. Story of the slowing up of the manufacture of war materials by giant industrial corporations in alliance with German associates. The policy of "profits first, America second" as exposed by an investigator now working in close co-operation with Government authorities.

BLUEPRINT FOR VICTORY, by Homer Brett. Appleton-Century. Plan for winning the war in the shortest possible time, by crushing Japan before we take on the Nazis.

GERMAN STRATEGY OF WORLD CONQUEST, by Derwent Whittlesey, in collaboration with C. C. Colby and R. S. Hartshorne. Farrer & Rinehart. Story of the development of Germany's plans for world conquest from the time of medieval Prussia; based on original German documents in the Office of Military Intelligence, the Department of Justice, the Library of Congress, and the State Department.

THE UNGUARDED FRONTIER: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN-CANADIAN RELATIONS, by Edgar W. McInnis. Doubleday, Doran. Analysis of the relations between the United States and her neighbor to the north; their interdependence and divergencies in political and social development.

WHAT ABOUT GERMANY? by Louis P. Lochner. Dodd, Mead. Germany today described by the Chief of the Associated Press in Berlin, from the period of the young German Republic, and the struggles and disappointments of its leaders, to the present.

WORLD IN TRANCE: FROM VERSAILLES TO PEARL HARBOR, by Leopold Schwarzschild, translated by Norbert Guterman. L. B. Fischer. An analysis of world politics, tracing the development of nazi patterns for world conquest under the influence of Allied appeasement and wishful-thinking.

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

SIR NORMAN ANGELL, member of the International Editorial Board of FREE WORLD and regular contributor to our pages, surveyed the political developments in Europe during the crucial year of 1941-42 in his article, *The Pendulum Swings,* published in the October issue.

From his vantage ground as the director of a special research project of the Columbia Broadcasting System on post-war reconstruction problems, *LYMAN BRYSON* is able to see clearly the advantages as well as the defects of the efforts now being made to plan for the future. Mr. Bryson is also Director of Education for CBS and Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Younger Brother is one of the first poems to be published of the new book of ballads, "American Primer," which *ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN* is now writing and which will appear next year. *There Will Be Bread and Love,* Mr. Coffin's previous contribution to FREE WORLD, was chosen by him as the title piece for the book of verse which has recently been published.

In connection with *MERCER COOK's* article, *The Negro Knows Fascism,* the Editors of FREE WORLD are glad to report that the new contract which they signed with the Book and Magazine Union, Local 18, carries the following provision: "There shall be no discrimination in the hiring of any individual because of race, creed, color, or any political belief that is in accordance with the ideology of the United Nations." Professor Cook is on the faculty of Atlanta University. In addition to being a member of the International Honorary Board of FREE WORLD, he is on the editorial staff of *The Journal of Negro History, Phylon,* and the *Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture.* A new book of his, "Five French Negro Authors," will soon be published.

WATSON DAVIS is pre-eminently fitted to report on the progress of scientific research in the world. He is the Director of Science Service, a member of the National Inventors Council, and President of the American Documentation Institute.

ISIDRO FABELA resigned his position as Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister in order to be able to assume leadership of the Free World movement in Mexico. He was, however, immediately appointed Governor of the State of Mexico by President Camacho and he manages to find time from his official duties to serve as Chairman of the Mexican Section of the Free World Association and as Editor of our Spanish edition, *Mundo Libre.*

SHELDON GLUECK, Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology at Harvard Law School, is a member of Commission II, On the Trial of War Criminals, of the London International Assembly which, under the able leadership of General Marcel de Baer, President of the Belgian Cour Militaire, has been working for some time on this whole matter. A subcommittee of the Criminal Law Department of the University of Cambridge has also been doing useful preliminary work on this question.

VICTOR RAUL HAYA DE LA TORRE, leader of the Peruvian Aprista Party and one of the foremost exponents of democratic ideas in South America, has contributed articles on Inter-American relations to previous issues of FREE WORLD.

MICHAEL A. HEILPERIN, Associate Professor of Economics at Hamilton College, has served on the faculties of the Graduate Institute of International Law at the Hague, the

University of California in Berkeley, and Bryn Mawr College. He is the author of "International Monetary Economics" and of other works in this field.

The movement for World Co-operation owes its origin to three scholars. Co-founders with Professor *LI YU YING* thirty-six years ago were Professor Wu Chefee, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Democratic Party, and President C. K. Chang, Minister of State, friends and collaborators of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, father of the Chinese Republic. Professor Li is a member of the International Honorary Board and Chairman of the Board of Directors of FREE WORLD.

The trial which *PIERRE MENDES FRANCE* describes in this issue naturally came before his escape from the prison of Clermont-Ferrand, an account of which we published last month. The proper time sequence will be followed in his book, *"Liberté, Liberté chérie,"* which will appear this fall under the imprint of Didier.

Before leaving New York to join the Fighting French Armies as a Captain of the Air Force, the author communicated to us some interesting information on this trial. The vote of the judges was officially registered as six to one. "But even that is a lie," he explained. "In all the important verdicts of the military tribunal of Clermont-Ferrand the vote is six to one. The single dissent serves a double purpose: on the one hand, it confers great authority upon the sentence by virtue of the impressive majority, and on the other, it is a guarantee of the independence of the balloting. Actually, as I later learned, there were two and possibly three votes cast against the sentence."

EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER, Professor of International Affairs at the American University in Washington and former member of the League of Nations secretariat, contributed *Power in International Government* to our June issue. *The Era of Transition* forms a chapter of the book, "Victory Is Not Enough," which will be published in December by W. W. Norton.

The long-recognized position of Count *CARLO SFORZA* as the leading spokesman for democratic Italians has been officially confirmed by his election as Chairman of the National Committee of Free Italians at the recent conference in Montevideo. Count Sforza, former Minister for Foreign Affairs in Italy, has been contributing regularly interpretative articles on international affairs to FREE WORLD.

On March 12, 1942, *JERRY VOORHIS,* Democratic Congressman for the Twelfth District, California, since 1936, introduced in the House of Representatives the Joint Resolution (H.J. Res. 291) "to establish the National Commission for Post-War Reconstruction." In the words of the resolution, the purpose of the Commission "shall be the development of a practical plan and program for the continuous full employment of all Americans able and willing to work, and for the achievement and maintenance of a just and equitable relationship as to wages between agriculture and industry, to the end that free enterprise may be preserved." The Committee on Labor, to whom the Resolution was referred, reported favorably.

ROBERT J. WATT, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor, is doing conspicuous service for the Government. Besides acting as a member of the National Defense Mediation Board, the National War Labor Board, and the Labor Advisory Committee of the Office for Civilian Defense, he is Chairman of the Labor Advisory Committee of the Board of War Communications and Labor Advisor to the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

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A BIGGER NATION AND A NEW DEPARTMENT—Adding four pages to its regular 32-page issues, The Nation now has a new weekly section, Political War, edited by J. Alvarez del Vayo. This presents reports from all the countries now fighting the Axis, and from neutral countries as well, not as isolated news items but interpreted and related to the struggle against fascism. It will examine methods of propaganda and the best utilization of the democratic forces for victory. It will combat every effort of capitulationists and appeasers to compromise the hope of a people's peace.

ALSO A SPECIAL LABOR ISSUE—planned for early fall and doubled in size, which will deal frankly with the issues that now confront trade unions and examine proposals that might serve as a basis for achieving organic unity within the labor movement. It will show the role that labor can play in reorganizing our production front on a total war footing and analyze methods of strengthening the working relationship between labor and the national administration for the common cause of a democratic victory and a democratic peace.

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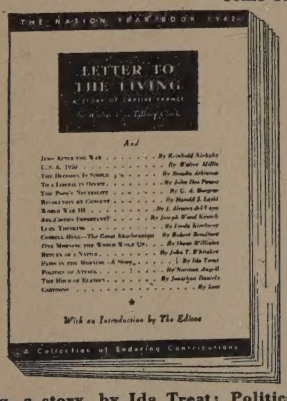
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